

HERODOTUS.

BOOK I. CLIQ.

THIS is a publication of the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, in order that the actions of men may not be effaced by time, nor the great and wondrous deeds displayed both by Greeks and barbarians¹ deprived of renown :— and amongst the rest, for what cause they waged war upon each other.

1. The learned among the Persians assert that the Phœnicians were the original authors of the quarrel ; for that they having migrated from that which is called the Red Sea to the Mediterranean,² and having settled in the country which they now inhabit, forthwith applied themselves to distant voyages ; and that having exported Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they touched at other places, and also at Argos. Now Argos at that period in every respect surpassed all those states which are now comprehended under the general appellation of Greece.³ *They say*, that on their arrival at Argos, the Phœnicians exposed their merchandise to sale, and that on the fifth or sixth day after their arrival, and when

¹ By barbarians the Greeks meant all who were not sprung from themselves,—all foreigners.

² The Phœnicians passed over land (see b. VII. c. 89) from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, which in the text and in other Grecian writers is called "*this sea*."

³ The region known by the name of Hellas or Greece, in the time of Herodotus, was, previous to the Trojan war, and indeed long afterwards, only discriminated by the names of its different inhabitants. Homer speaks of the Danaans, Argives, Achaians, &c., but never gives these people the general name of Greeks.—*Larcher*."

they had almost disposed of their cargo, a great number of women came down to the sea-shore, and among them the king's daughter, whose name, as the Greeks also say, was Io, daughter of Inachus. *They add*, that while these women were standing near the stern of the vessel, and were bargaining for such things as most pleased them, the Phœnicians, having exhorted one another, made an attack upon them; and that most of the women escaped, but that Io, with some others, was seized: and that they, having hurried them on board, set sail for Egypt. 2. Thus the Persians say that Io went to Egypt, not agreeing *herein* with the Phœnicians; and that this was the beginning of wrongs. After this, that certain Grecians, (for they are unable to tell their name,) having touched at Tyre in Phœnicia, carried off the king's daughter Europa. These must have been Cretans. Thus far they say that they had only retaliated;⁴ but that after this the Greeks were guilty of the second provocation; for that having sailed down in a vessel of war⁵ to Æa, a city of Colchis on the river Phasis, when they had accomplished the more immediate object of their expedition, they carried off the king's daughter Medea; and that the king of Colchis, having despatched a herald to Greece, demanded satisfaction for the rape, and the restitution of the princess; but the Greeks replied, that as they of Asia had not given any satisfaction for the rape of Io, neither would they give any to them. 3. They say too, that in the second generation after this, Alexander the son of Priam, having heard of these events, was desirous of obtaining a wife from Greece by means of violence, being fully persuaded that he should not have to give satisfaction, for that the Greeks had not done so. When therefore he had carried off Helen, *they say*, that the Greeks immediately sent messengers to demand her back again, and require satisfaction for the rape; but that they, when they brought forward these demands, objected to them the rape of Medea; "that they who had not themselves given satisfaction, nor made it when demanded, now wished others to give it to themselves." 4. Thus far then *they say* that there had only been rapes from each other; but that after this the Greeks were greatly

⁴ Literally, "had only done like for like."

⁵ "In a long vessel." The long vessels were vessels of war; the round vessels, merchantmen and transports.

to blame, for that they levied war against Asia before the Asiatics did upon Europe. Now, to carry off women by violence the Persians think is the act of wicked men, but to trouble oneself about avenging them when so carried off is the act of foolish ones ; and to pay no regard to them when carried off, of wise men : for that it is clear, that if they had not been willing, they could not have been carried off. Accordingly the Persians say, that they of Asia made no account of women that were carried off ; but that the Greeks for the sake of a Lacedæmonian woman assembled a mighty fleet, and then having come to Asia overthrew the empire of Priam. That from this event they had always considered the Greeks as their enemies : for the Persians claim Asia and the barbarous nations that inhabit it, as their own, and consider Europe and the people of Greece as totally distinct.

5. Such is the Persian account ; and to the capture of Troy they ascribe the commencement of their enmity to the Greeks. As relates to Io, the Phœnicians do not agree with this account of the Persians : for they affirm that they did not use violence to carry her into Egypt ; but that she had connexion at Argos with the master of a vessel, and when she found herself pregnant, she, through dread of her parents, voluntarily sailed away with the Phœnicians, to avoid detection. Such then are the accounts of the Persians and Phœnicians : I, however, am not going to inquire whether the facts were so or not ; but having pointed out the person whom I myself know to have been the first guilty of injustice towards the Greeks, I will then proceed with my history, touching as well on the small as the great estates of men : for of those that were formerly powerful many have become weak, and some that were powerful in my time were formerly weak. Knowing therefore the precarious nature of human prosperity, I shall commemorate both alike.

6. Cræsus was a Lydian by birth, son of Alyattes, and sovereign of the nations on this side the river Halys. This river flowing from the south⁶ between the Syrians⁷ and Paphlagonians, empties itself northwards into the Euxine Sea. This Cræsus was the first of the barbarians whom we

⁶ The Halys had two branches, one flowing from the east, the other from the south : Herodotus speaks only of the southern one.

⁷ Syria was at that time the name of Cappadocia. See I. 72.

know of that subjected some of the Greeks to the payment of tribute, and formed alliances with others. He subdued the Ionians and Æolians, and the Dorians settled in Asia, and he formed an alliance with the Lacedæmonians; but before the reign of Cræsus all the Greeks were free; for the incursion of the Cimmerians⁶ into Ionia, which was before the time of Cræsus, was not for the purpose of subjecting states, but an irruption for plunder. 7. The government, which formerly belonged to the Heraclidæ, passed in the following manner to the family of Cræsus, who were called Mermnadæ. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was tyrant of Sardis, and a descendant of Alcæus, son of Hercules. For Agron, son of Ninus, grandson of Belus, great-grandson of Alcæus, was the first of the Heraclidæ who became king of Sardis; and Candaules, son of Myrsus, was the last. They who ruled over this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom this whole people, anciently called Mæonians, derived the name of Lydians. The Heraclidæ, descended from a female slave of Jardanus and Hercules, having been intrusted with the government by these princes, retained the supreme power in obedience to the declaration of an oracle: they reigned for twenty-two generations, a space of five hundred and five years, the son succeeding to the father to the time of Candaules, son of Myrsus. 8. This Candaules then was enamoured of his own wife, and being so, thought that she was by far the most beautiful of all women. Now being of this opinion,—Gyges, son of Dascylus, one of his body-guard, happened to be his especial favourite, and to him Candaules confided his most important affairs, and moreover extolled the beauty of his wife in exaggerated terms. In lapse of time (for Candaules was fated to be miserable) he addressed Gyges as follows: "Gyges, as I think you do not believe me when I speak of my wife's beauty, (for the ears of men are naturally more incredulous than their eyes,) you must contrive to see her naked." But he, exclaiming loudly, answered, "Sire, what a shocking proposal do you make, bidding me behold my queen naked! With her clothes a woman puts off her modesty. Wise maxims have been of old laid down by men, from these it is our duty to learn: amongst them is the

⁶ The incursion here spoken of occurred in the reign of the Lydian Ardys. See I. 15., and IV. 12.

following,—‘Let every man look to the things that concern himself.’ I am persuaded that she is the most beautiful of her sex, but I entreat of you not to require what is wicked.”

9. Saying thus, Gyges fought off the proposal, dreading lest some harm should befall himself: but the king answered, “Gyges, take courage, and be not afraid of me, as if I desired to make trial of you, by speaking thus, nor of my wife, lest any harm should befall you from her. For from the outset I will so contrive that she shall not know she has been seen by you. I will place you behind the open door of the apartment in which we sleep; as soon as I enter my wife will come to bed; there stands by the entrance a chair, on this she will lay her garments one by one as she takes them off, and then she will give you an opportunity to look at her at your leisure; but when she steps from the chair to the bed, and you are at her back, be careful that she does not see you as you are going out by the door.” 10. Gyges therefore, finding he could not escape, prepared *to obey*. And Candaules, when it seemed to be time to go to bed, led him to the chamber, and the lady soon afterwards appeared, and Gyges saw her enter and lay her clothes *on the chair*: when he was at her back, as the lady was going to the bed, he crept secretly out, but she saw him as he was going away. Perceiving what her husband had done, she neither cried out through modesty, nor appeared to notice it, purposing to take vengeance on Candaules; for among the Lydians and almost all the barbarians, it is deemed a great disgrace even for a man to be seen naked. 11. At the time therefore, having shown no consciousness of what had occurred, she held her peace, and as soon as it was day, having prepared such of her domestics as she knew were most to be trusted, she sent for Gyges. He, supposing that she knew nothing of what had happened, came when he was sent for, for he had been before used to attend whenever the queen sent for him. When Gyges came, the lady thus addressed him: “Gyges, I submit two proposals to your choice, either kill Candaules and take possession of me and of the Lydian kingdom, or expect immediate death, so that you may not, from your obedience to Candaules in all things, again see what you ought not. It is necessary however that he who planned this, or that you who have seen me naked, and have done what is not decorous, should die. Gyges for a

time was amazed at what he heard ; but, afterwards, he implored her not to compel him to make such a choice. He however could not persuade, but saw a necessity imposed on him, either to kill his master Candaules or die himself by the hands of others ; he chose therefore to survive, and made the following inquiry : “ Since you compel me to kill my master against my will, tell me how we shall lay hands on him.” She answered, “ The assault shall be made from the very spot whence he showed me naked ; the attack shall be made on him while asleep.” 12. When they had concerted their plan, on the approach of night he followed the lady to the chamber : then (for Gyges was not suffered to depart, nor was there any possibility of escape, but either he or Candaules must needs perish) she, having given him a dagger, concealed him behind the same door : and after this, when Candaules was asleep, Gyges having crept stealthily up and slain him, possessed himself both of the woman and the kingdom. Of this event, also, Archilochus⁹ the Parian, who lived about the same time, has made mention in a trimeter Iambic poem. 13. Thus Gyges obtained the kingdom, and was confirmed in it by the oracle at Delphi. For when the Lydians resented the murder of Candaules, and were up in arms, the partisans of Gyges and the other Lydians came to the following agreement, that if the oracle should pronounce him king of the Lydians, he should reign ; if not, he should restore the power to the Heraclidæ. The oracle, however, answered accordingly, and so Gyges became king. But the Pythian added this, “ that the Heraclidæ should be avenged on the fifth descendant of Gyges.”¹ Of this prediction neither the Lydians nor their kings took any notice until it was actually accomplished.

14. Thus the Mermnadæ, having deprived the Heraclidæ, possessed themselves of the supreme power. Gyges having obtained the kingdom, sent many offerings to Delphi ; for most of the silver offerings at Delphi are his : and besides the silver, he gave a vast quantity of gold ; and among the rest, what is especially worthy of mention, the bowls of gold, six in number, were dedicated by him : these now stand in the

⁹ Archilochus was one of the earliest writers of Iambics. All that remains of his is to be met with in Brunck's *Analecta*.

¹ See I. 91.

treasury of the Corinthians, and are thirty talents in weight ; though, to say the truth, this treasury does not belong to the people of Corinth, but to Cypselus son of Eetion. This Gyges is the first of the barbarians whom we know of that dedicated offerings at Delphi ; except Midas, son of Gordius, king of Phrygia, for Midas dedicated the royal throne, on which he used to sit and administer justice, *a piece of workmanship* deserving of admiration. This throne stands in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and silver, which Gyges dedicated, is by the Delphians called Gygian, from the name of the donor. Now this prince, when he obtained the sovereignty, led an army against Myletus and Smyrna, and took the city of Colophon ; but as he performed no other great action during his reign of eight and thirty years, we will pass him over, having made this mention of him. 15. I will proceed to mention Ardys, the son and successor of Gyges. He took Priene, and invaded Miletus. During the time that he reigned at Sardis, the Cimmerians, being driven from their seats by the Scythian nomades, passed into Asia, and possessed themselves of all Sardis except the citadel.

16. When Ardys had reigned forty-nine years, his son Sadyattes succeeded him, and reigned twelve years ; and Alyattes succeeded Sadyattes. He made war upon Cyaxares, a descendant of Deioces, and upon the Medes. He drove the Cimmerians out of Asia ; took Smyrna, which was founded from Colophon, and invaded Clazomenæ. From this place he departed, not as he could wish, but signally defeated. He also performed in the course of his reign the following actions worthy of mention. 17. He continued the war which his father had begun against the Milesians ; and leading his army against Miletus, he invaded it in the following manner. When their fruits were ripe on the ground, he led his army into their territory, attended in his march with pipes, harps, and flutes, masculine and feminine. On his arrival in Milesia, he neither demolished nor burnt their country houses, nor forced off the doors, but let them stand as they were ; but when he had destroyed their trees and the fruits on the ground, he returned home ; for the Milesians were masters of the sea, so that there was no use in the army's besieging it. And the Lydian king would not destroy their houses, for this reason, that the Milesians, having those habitations,

might come out to sow and cultivate the ground, and when they had cultivated it, he might have something to ravage, when he should invade them with his army. 18. In this manner he carried on the war eleven years, during which the Milesians received two great blows, one in a battle at Limeneion in their own territory, the other in the plain of the Mæander. Six of these eleven years Sadyattes the son of Ardys was still king of the Lydians, and during those he made incursions into the Milesian territory (for this Sadyattes was the person that began the war). But during the five years that succeeded the six, Alyattes the son of Sadyattes, who (as I have before mentioned) received it from his father, earnestly applied himself to it. None of the Ionians, except the Chians, assisted the Milesians in bearing the burden of this war: they did it in requital for succour they had received; for formerly the Milesians had assisted the Chians in prosecuting the war against the Erythræans. 19. In the twelfth year, when the corn had been set on fire by the army, an accident of the following nature occurred. As soon as the corn had caught fire, the flames, carried by the wind, caught a temple of Minerva, called Assesian;² and the temple, thus set on fire, was burnt to the ground. No notice was taken of this at the time; but afterwards, when the army had returned to Sardis, Alyattes fell sick. When the disease continued a considerable time, he sent messengers to Delphi to consult the oracle, either from the advice of some friend, or because it appeared right to himself to send and make inquiries of the god concerning his disorder. The Pythian, however, refused to give any answer to the messengers when they arrived at Delphi, until they had rebuilt the temple of Minerva which they had burnt at Assesus in the territory of Milesia. 20. This relation I had from the Delphians: but the Milesians add, that Periander the son of Cypselus, who was a very intimate friend of Thrasybulus, at that time king of Miletus, having heard of the answer given to Alyattes, despatched a messenger to inform him of it, in order that, being aware of it beforehand, he might form his plans according to present circumstances. This is the Milesian account. 21. Alyattes, when the above an-

² Assesus was a small town dependent on Miletus. Minerva had a temple there, and hence took the name of the Assesian Minerva. *Larcher.*

swer was brought to him, immediately sent a herald to Miletus, desiring to make a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians, till such time as he should have rebuilt the temple. The herald accordingly went on this mission to Miletus. But Thrasybulus being accurately informed of the whole matter, and knowing the design of Alyattes, had recourse to the following artifice: having collected in the market-place all the corn that was in the city, both his own and what belonged to private persons, he made a proclamation, that when he gave the signal, all the inhabitants should feast together. 22. Thrasybulus contrived and ordered this, to the end that the Sardinian herald, seeing so great a profusion of corn, and the people enjoying themselves, might report accordingly to Alyattes; and so it came to pass. For when the herald had seen these things, and delivered to Thrasybulus the message of the Lydian king, he returned to Sardis; and, as I am informed, a reconciliation was brought about for no other reason. For Alyattes expecting that there was a great scarcity of corn in Miletus, and that the people were reduced to extreme distress, received from the herald on his return from Miletus an account quite contrary to what he expected. Soon afterwards a reconciliation took place between them, on terms of mutual friendship and alliance. And Alyattes built two temples to Minerva at Assesus, instead of one, and himself recovered from sickness. Such were the circumstances of the war that Alyattes made against the Milesians and Thrasybulus.

23. Periander was the son of Cypselus,—he it was who acquainted Thrasybulus with the answer of the oracle. Now, Periander was king of Corinth, and the Corinthians say, (and the Lesbians confirm their account,) that a wonderful prodigy occurred in his life-time. *They say* that Arion of Methymna, who was second to none of his time in accompanying the harp, and who was the first, that we are acquainted with, who composed, named, and represented the dithyrambus at Corinth, was carried to Tænarus on the back of a dolphin. 24. They say that this Arion, having continued a long time with Periander, was desirous of making a voyage to Italy and Sicily; and that having acquired great wealth, he determined to return to Corinth: that he set out from Tarentum, and hired a ship of certain Corinthians, because he put

more confidence in them than in any other nation ; but that these men, when they were in the open sea, conspired together to throw him overboard and seize his money, and he being aware of this, offered them his money, and entreated them to spare his life. However, he could not prevail on them ; but the sailors ordered him either to kill himself, that he might be buried ashore, or to leap immediately into the sea.

They add, that Arion, reduced to this strait, entreated them, since such was their determination, to permit him to stand on the poop in his full dress and sing, and he promised when he had sung to make away with himself. The seamen, pleased that they should hear the best singer in the world, retired from the stern to the middle of the vessel. *They relate*, that Arion, having put on all his robes, and taken his harp, stood on the rowing benches and went through the Orthian strain ; that when the strain was ended he leaped into the sea as he was, in his full dress ; and the sailors continued their voyage to Corinth : but they say that a dolphin received him on his back, and carried him to Tænarus ; and that he, having landed, proceeded to Corinth in his full dress, and upon his arrival there, related all that had happened ; but that Periander, giving no credit to his relation, put Arion under close confinement, and watched anxiously for the seamen : that when they appeared, he summoned them and inquired if they could give any account of Arion ; but when they answered, that he was safe in Italy, and that they had left him flourishing at Tarentum, Arion in that instant appeared before them just as he was when he leaped into the sea ; at which they were so astonished, that being fully convicted, they could no longer deny the fact. These things are reported by the Corinthians and Lesbians ; and there is a small brazen statue of Arion at Tænarus, representing a man sitting on a dolphin.

25. Alyattes the Lydian, having waged this long war against the Milesians, afterwards died, when he had reigned fifty-seven years. On his recovery from sickness he was the second of his family that dedicated at Delphi a large silver bowl, with a saucer of iron inlaid ; an object that deserves attention above all the offerings at Delphi. It was made by Glaucus the Chian, who first invented the art of inlaying iron.

26. After the death of Alyattes, his son Cræsus, who was then thirty-five years of age, succeeded to the kingdom.

He attacked the Ephesians before any other Grecian people. The Ephesians then being besieged by him, consecrated their city to Diana, by fastening a rope from the temple to the wall. The distance between the old town, which was then besieged, and the temple, is seven stadia. Cræsus then attacked these the first, and afterwards the several cities of the Ionians and Æolians one after another, alleging different pretences against different states, imputing graver charges against those in whom he was able to discover greater causes of blame, and against some of them alleging frivolous pretences.

27. After he had reduced the Grecians in Asia to the payment of tribute, he formed a design to build ships and attack the Islanders. But when all things were ready for the building of ships, Bias of Priene, (or, as others say, Pittacus of Mitylene,) arriving at Sardis, put a stop to his ship-building, by making this reply, when Cræsus inquired if he had any news from Greece: "O king, the Islanders are enlisting a large body of cavalry, with intention to make war upon you and Sardis." Cræsus, thinking he had spoken the truth, said, "May the gods put such a thought into the Islanders, as to attack the sons of the Lydians with horse." The other answering said, "Sire, you appear to wish above all things to see the Islanders on horseback upon the continent; and not without reason. But what can you imagine the Islanders more earnestly desire, after having heard of your resolution to build a fleet in order to attack them, than to catch the Lydians at sea, that they may revenge on you the cause of those Greeks who dwell on the continent, whom you hold in subjection?"

It is related, that Cræsus was very much pleased with the conclusion, and that being convinced, (for he appeared to speak to the purpose,) he put a stop to the ship-building, and made an alliance with the Ionians that inhabit the islands.

28. In course of time, when nearly all the nations that dwell within the river Halys, except the Cilicians and Lycians, were subdued; for Cræsus held all the rest in subjection: and they were the following, the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, both the Thynians and Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians. 29. When these nations were subdued, and Cræsus had added them to the Lydians, all the other wise men of that time, as each had op-

portunity, came from Greece to Sardis, which had then attained to the highest degree of prosperity; and amongst them Solon an Athenian, who having made laws for the Athenians at their request, absented himself for ten years, having sailed away under pretence of seeing the world, that he might not be compelled to abrogate any of the laws he had established: for the Athenians could not do it themselves, since they were bound by solemn oaths to observe for ten years whatever laws Solon should enact for them. 30. Solon therefore having gone abroad for these reasons, and for the purposes of observation, arrived in Egypt at the court of Amasis, and afterwards at that of Cræsus at Sardis. On his arrival he was hospitably entertained by Cræsus, and on the third or fourth day, by order of the king, the attendants conducted him round the treasury, and showed him all their grand and costly contents; and when he had seen and examined every thing sufficiently, Cræsus asked him this question: "My Athenian guest, your great fame has reached even to us, as well of your wisdom as of your travels, how that as a philosopher you have travelled through various countries for the purpose of observation; I am therefore desirous of asking you, who is the most happy man you have seen?" He asked this question, because he thought himself the most happy of men. But Solon, speaking the truth freely, without any flattery, answered, "Tellus the Athenian." Cræsus, astonished at his answer, eagerly³ asked him, "On what account do you deem Tellus the happiest?" He replied, "Tellus, in the first place, lived in a well-governed commonwealth; had sons who were virtuous and good; and he saw children born to them all, and all surviving: in the next place, when he had lived as happily as the condition of human affairs will permit, he ended his life in a most glorious manner. For coming to the assistance of the Athenians in a battle with their neighbours of Eleusis, he put the enemy to flight, and died nobly. The Athenians buried him at the public charge in the place where he fell, and honoured him greatly."

31. When Solon had roused the attention of Cræsus by relating many and happy circumstances concerning Tellus, Cræsus, expecting at least to obtain the second place, asked,

³ Ἐπιστρεφέως. Baehr translates it *accuratè, diligenter*

whom he had seen next to him. "Cleobis," said he, "and Biton, for they being natives of Argos, possessed a sufficient fortune, and had withal such strength of body, that they were both alike victorious in the public games; and moreover the following story is related of them: when the Argives were celebrating a festival of Juno, it was necessary that their mother should be drawn to the temple in a chariot; but the oxen did not come from the field in time, the young men therefore, being pressed for time, put themselves beneath the yoke, and drew the car in which their mother sate; and having conveyed it forty-five stades, they reached the temple. After they had done this in sight of the assembled people, a most happy termination was put to their lives; and in them the Deity clearly showed, that it is better for a man to die than to live. For the men of Argos, who stood round, commended the strength of the youths, and the women blessed her as the mother of such sons; but the mother herself, transported with joy both on account of the action and its renown, stood before the image and prayed, that the goddess would grant to Cleobis and Biton, her own sons, who had so highly honoured her, the greatest blessing man could receive. After this prayer, when they had sacrificed and partaken of the feast, the youths fell asleep in the temple itself, and never awoke more, but met with such a termination of life. Upon this the Argives, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made and dedicated at Delphi." 32. Thus Solon adjudged the second place of felicity to these youths. But Cræsus, being enraged, said, "My Athenian friend, is my happiness then so slighted by you as nothing worth, that you do not think me of so much value as private men?" He answered; "Cræsus, do you inquire of me concerning human affairs—of me, who know that the divinity is always jealous, and delights in confusion. For in lapse of time men are constrained to see many things they would not willingly see, and to suffer many things *they would not willingly suffer*. Now I put the term of man's life at seventy years; these seventy years then give twenty-five thousand two hundred days, without including the intercalary month; and if we add that month⁴ to every other year, in

⁴ If the first number 25,200 is correct, it follows that the year was 360 days; if the number of intercalary days 1050 in 70 years, there will be altogether 26,259, which will give 375 days to the year; so that in

order that the seasons arriving at the proper time may agree, the intercalary months will be thirty-five more in the seventy years, and the days of these months will be one thousand and fifty. Yet in all this number of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty days, that compose these seventy years, one day produces nothing exactly the same as another. Thus, then, O Cræsus, man is altogether the sport of fortune. You appear to me to be master of immense treasures, and king of many nations ; but as relates to what you inquire of me, I cannot say, till I hear you have ended your life happily. For the richest of men is not more happy than he that has a sufficiency for a day, unless good fortune attend him to the grave, so that he ends his life in happiness. Many men, who abound in wealth, are unhappy ; and many, who have only a moderate competency, are fortunate. He that abounds in wealth, and is yet unhappy, surpasses the other only in two things ; but the other surpasses the wealthy and the miserable in many things. The former indeed is better able to gratify desire, and to bear the blow of adversity. But the latter surpasses him in this ; he is not indeed equally able to bear misfortune or *satisfy* desire, but his good fortune wards off these things from him ; and he enjoys the full use of his limbs, he is free from disease and misfortune, he is blessed with good children and a fine form, and if, in addition to all these things, he shall end his life well, he is the man you seek, and may justly be called happy ; but before he die we ought to suspend our judgment, and not pronounce him happy, but fortunate. Now it is impossible for any one man to comprehend all these advantages : as no one country suffices to produce every thing for itself, but affords some and wants others, and that which affords the most is the best ; so no human being is in all respects self-sufficient, but possesses one advantage, and is in need of another ; he therefore who has constantly enjoyed the most of these, and then ends his life tranquilly, this man, in my judgment, O king, deserves the name of happy. We ought therefore to consider the end of every thing, in what way it will terminate ; for the Deity having shown a glimpse of happiness to many, has afterwards utterly overthrown them."

spite of the precaution the seasons will be confused.—Wytttenbach alters the number of intercalary months and days to make it agree with truth.
Larcher.

33. When he spoke thus to Cræsus, Cræsus did not confer any favour on him, and holding him in no account, dismissed him ; since he considered him a very ignorant man, because he overlooked present prosperity, and bade men look to the end of every thing.

34. After the departure of Solon, the indignation of the gods fell heavy upon Cræsus, probably because he thought himself the most happy of all men. A dream soon after visited him while sleeping, which pointed out to him the truth of the misfortunes that were about to befall him in the person of one of his sons. For Cræsus had two sons, of whom one was grievously afflicted, for he was dumb ; but the other, whose name was Atys, far surpassed all the young men of his age. Now the dream intimated to Cræsus that he would lose this Atys by a wound inflicted by the point of an iron weapon ; he, when he awoke, and had considered the matter with himself, dreading the dream, provided a wife for his son ; and though he was accustomed to command the Lydian troops, he did not ever after send him out on that business ; and causing all spears, lances, and such other weapons as men use in war, to be removed from the men's apartments, he had them laid up in private chambers, that none of them being suspended might fall upon his son. 35. While Cræsus was engaged with the nuptials of his son, a man oppressed by misfortune, and whose hands were polluted, a Phrygian by birth, and of royal family, arrived at Sardis. This man, having come to the palace of Cræsus, sought permission to obtain purification according to the custom of the country. Cræsus purified him :—(now the manner of expiation is nearly the same among the Lydians and the Greeks :) and when he had performed the usual ceremonies, Cræsus inquired whence he came, and who he was ; speaking to him as follows : “ Stranger, who art thou, and from what part of Phrygia hast thou come as a suppliant to my hearth ? and what man or woman hast thou slain ? ” The stranger answered, “ Sire, I am the son of Gordius, son of Midas, and am called Adrastus : having unwittingly slain my own brother, and being banished by my father and deprived of every thing, I am come hither.” Cræsus answered as follows : “ You are born of parents who are our friends, and you are come to friends, among whom, if you will stay, you shall want nothing ; and by bearing your misfortune as lightly as pos-

sible you will be the greatest gainer." So Adrastus took up his abode in the palace of Cræsus.

36. At this same time a boar of enormous size appeared in Mysian Olympus, and rushing down from that mountain, ravaged the fields of the Mysians. The Mysians, though they often went out against him, could not hurt him, but suffered much from him. At last deputies from the Mysians having come to Cræsus, spoke as follows: "O king, a boar of enormous size has appeared in our country, and ravages our fields: though we have often endeavoured to take him, we cannot. We therefore earnestly beg, that you would send with us your son and some chosen youths with dogs, that we may drive him from the country." Such was their entreaty, but Cræsus, remembering the warning of his dream, answered, "Make no further mention of my son; for I shall not send him with you, because he is lately married, and that now occupies his attention: but I will send with you chosen Lydians, and the whole hunting train, and will order them to assist you with their best endeavours in driving the monster from your country." 37. Such was his answer; and when the Mysians were content with this, the son of Cræsus, who had heard of their request, came in; and when Cræsus refused to send him with them, the youth thus addressed him: "Father, in time past I was permitted to signalize myself in the two most noble and becoming exercises of war and hunting; but now you keep me excluded from both, without having observed in me either cowardice or want of spirit. How will men look on me when I go or return from the forum? What kind of man shall I appear to my fellow citizens? What to my newly married wife? What kind of man will she think she has for a partner? Either suffer me then to go to this hunt, or convince me that it is better for me to do as you would have me." 38. "My son," answered Cræsus, "I act thus, not because I have seen any cowardice, or any thing else unbecoming in you; but a vision in a dream appearing to me in my sleep warned me that you would be short-lived, and would die by the point of an iron weapon. On account of this vision therefore I hastened your marriage, and now refuse to send you on this expedition; taking care to preserve you, if by any means I can, as long as I live; for you are my only son; the other, who is deprived of his hearing, I consider as lost." 39. The youth answered, "You

are not to blame, my father, if after such a dream you take so much care of me ; but it is right for me to explain that which you do not comprehend, and which has escaped your notice in the dream. You say the dream signified that I should die by the point of an iron weapon. But what hand, or what pointed iron weapon has a boar, to occasion such fears in you ? Had it said I should lose my life by a tusk, or something of like nature, you ought then to have done as you now do ; whereas *it said* by the point of a weapon ; since then we have not to contend against men, let me go.” 40. “ You have surpassed me,” replied Cræsus, “ in explaining the import of the dream ; therefore, being overcome by you, I change my resolution, and permit you to go to the chase.”

41. Cræsus, having thus spoken, sent for the Phrygian Adrastus, and, when he came, addressed him as follows : “ Adrastus, I purified you when smitten by a grievous misfortune, which I do not upbraid you with, and have received you into my house, and supplied you with every thing necessary. Now therefore, (for it is your duty to requite me with kindness, since I have first conferred a kindness on you,) I beg you would be my son’s guardian, when he goes to the chase, and take care that no skulking villains show themselves in the way to do him harm. Besides, you ought to go for your own sake, where you may signalize yourself by your exploits ; for this was the glory of your ancestors, and you are besides in full vigour.” 42. Adrastus answered, “ On no other account, sire, would I have taken part in this enterprise ; for it is not fitting that one in my unfortunate circumstances should join with his prosperous compeers, nor do I desire to do so ; and, indeed, I have often restrained myself. Now, however, since you urge me, and I ought to oblige you, for I am bound to requite the benefits you have conferred on me, I am ready to do as you desire ; and rest assured, that your son, whom you bid me take care of, shall, as far as his guardian is concerned, return to you uninjured.”

43. When Adrastus had made this answer to Cræsus, they went away, well provided with chosen youths and dogs : and, having arrived at Mount Olympus, they sought the wild beast, and having found him and encircled him around, they hurled their javelins at him. Among the rest, the stranger, the same that had been purified of murder, named Adrastus,

throwing his javelin at the boar, missed him, and struck the son of Crœsus : thus he being wounded by the point of the lance, fulfilled the warning of the dream. Upon this, some one ran off to tell Crœsus what had happened, and having arrived at Sardis, gave him an account of the action, and of his son's fate. 44. Crœsus, exceedingly distressed by the death of his son, lamented it the more bitterly, because he fell by the hand of one, whom he himself had purified from blood ; and vehemently deploring his misfortune, he invoked Jove the Expiator, attesting what he had suffered by this stranger. He invoked also the same deity, by the name of the god of hospitality and private friendship : as the god of hospitality, because by receiving a stranger into his house, he had unawares fostered the murderer of his son ; as the god of private friendship, because, having sent him as a guardian, he found him his greatest enemy. 45. After this, the Lydians approached, bearing the corpse, and behind it followed the murderer. He, having advanced in front of the corpse, delivered himself up to Crœsus, stretching forth his hands and begging of him to kill him upon it ; then relating his former misfortune, and how in addition to that he had destroyed his purifier, and that he ought to live no longer. When Crœsus heard this, though his own affliction was so great, he pitied Adrastus, and said to him, " You have made me full satisfaction by condemning yourself to die. But you are not the author of this misfortune, except as far as you were the involuntary agent ; but that god, whoever he was, that long since foreshowed what was about to happen." Crœsus therefore buried his son as the dignity of his birth required ; but Adrastus, son of Gordius, son of Midas, who had been the murderer of his own brother, and the murderer of his purifier, when all was silent round the tomb, judging himself the most heavily afflicted of all men, killed himself on the tomb. But Crœsus, bereaved of his son, continued disconsolate for two years.

46. Some time after, the overthrow of the kingdom of Astyages, son of Cyaxares, by Cyrus, son of Cambyses, and the growing power of the Persians, put an end to the grief of Crœsus ; and it entered into his thoughts whether he could by any means check the growing power of the Persians before they became formidable. After he had formed this purpose, he determined to make trial as well of the oracles in

Greece as of that in Libya ; and sent different persons to different places, some to Delphi, some to Abæ of Phocis, and some to Dodona ; others were sent to Amphiaraus and Trophonius, and others to Branchidæ of Milesia : these were the Grecian oracles to which Cræsus sent to consult. He sent others also to consult that of Ammon in Libya. And he sent them different ways, designing to make trial of what the oracles knew ; in order that if they should be found to know the truth, he might send a second time to inquire whether he should venture to make war on the Persians. 47. He despatched them to make trial of the oracles with the following orders ; that computing the days from the time of their departure from Sardis, they should consult the oracles on the hundredth day, by asking, what Cræsus, son of Alyattes and king of the Lydians, was then doing ; and that they should bring him the answer of each oracle in writing. Now what were the answers given by the other oracles, is mentioned by none ; but no sooner had the Lydians entered the temple of Delphi to consult the god, and asked the question enjoined them, than the Pythian thus spoke in hexameter verse : “ I know the number of the sands, and the measure of the sea ; I understand the dumb, and hear him that does not speak ; the savour of the hard-shelled tortoise boiled in brass with the flesh of lamb strikes on my senses ; brass is laid beneath it, and brass is put over it.” 48. The Lydians having written down this answer of the Pythian, returned to Sardis. And when the rest, who had been sent to other places, arrived bringing the answers, Cræsus having opened each of them examined their contents ; but none of them pleased him. When, however, he heard that from Delphi, he immediately adored it, and approved of it, being convinced that the oracle at Delphi alone was a real oracle, because it had discovered what he had done. For when he had sent persons to consult the different oracles, watching the appointed day, he had recourse to the following contrivance ; having thought of what it was impossible to discover or guess at, he cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them himself together in a brazen caldron, and put on it a cover of brass. 49. Such then was the answer given to Cræsus from Delphi : as regards the answer of the oracle of Amphiaraus, I cannot say what answer it gave to the Lydians, who performed the accus-

tomed rites at the temple ; for nothing else is related than that he considered this also to be a true oracle.

50. After this he endeavoured to propitiate the god at Delphi by magnificent sacrifices ; for he offered three thousand head of cattle of every kind fit for sacrifice, and having heaped up a great pile, he burnt on it beds of gold and silver, vials of gold, and robes of purple and garments ; hoping by that means more completely to conciliate the god : he also ordered all the Lydians to offer to the god whatever he was able. When the sacrifice was ended, having melted down a vast quantity of gold, he cast half-bricks from it ; of which the longest were six palms in length, the shortest three, and in thickness one palm : their number was one hundred and seventeen : four of these, of pure gold, weighed each two talents and a half ; the other half-bricks of pale gold, weighed two talents each. He made also the figure of a lion of fine gold, weighing ten talents. This lion, when the temple of Delphi was burnt down, fell from the half-bricks, for it had been placed on them ; and it now lies in the treasury of the Corinthians, weighing six talents and a half ; for three talents and a half were melted from it. 51. Cræsus, having finished these things, sent them to Delphi, and with them these following ; two large bowls, one of gold, the other of silver : that of gold was placed on the right hand as one enters the temple, and that of silver on the left ; but these also were removed when the temple was burnt down ; and the golden one, weighing eight talents and a half and twelve minæ, is placed in the treasury of Clazomenæ ; the silver one, containing six hundred amphoræ, lies in a corner of the vestibule, and is used by the Delphians for mixing the wine on the Theophanian festival. The Delphians say it was the workmanship of Theodorus the Samian ; and I think so too, for it appears to be no common work. He also sent four casks of silver, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians ; and he dedicated two lustral vases, one of gold, the other of silver : on the golden one is an inscription, OF THE LACE-DÆMONIANS, who say that it was their offering, but wrongfully, for this also was given by Cræsus : a certain Delphian made the inscription, in order to please the Lacedæmonians ; I know his name, but forbear to mention it. The boy indeed, through whose hand the water flows, is their

gift; but neither of the lustral vases. At the same time Cræsus sent many other offerings without an inscription: amongst them some round silver covers; and moreover a statue of a woman in gold three cubits high, which the Delphians say is the image of Cræsus's baking woman; and to all these things he added the necklaces and girdles of his wife.

52. These were the offerings he sent to Delphi; and to Amphiaraus, having ascertained his virtue and sufferings, he dedicated a shield all of gold, and a lance of solid gold, the shaft as well as the points being of gold; and these are at Thebes in the temple of Ismenian Apollo.

53. To the Lydians appointed to convey these presents to the temples, Cræsus gave it in charge to inquire of the oracles, whether he should make war on the Persians, and if he should unite any other nation as an ally. Accordingly, when the Lydians arrived at the places to which they were sent, and had dedicated the offerings, they consulted the oracles, saying, "Cræsus, king of the Lydians and of other nations, esteeming these to be the only oracles among men, sends these presents in acknowledgment of your discoveries; and now asks, whether he should lead an army against the Persians, and whether he should join any auxiliary forces with his own?" Such were their questions; and the opinions of both oracles concurred, foretelling, "That if Cræsus should make war on the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire;" and they advised him to engage the most powerful of the Grecians in his alliance. 54. When Cræsus heard the answers that were brought back, he was beyond measure delighted with the oracles; and fully expecting that he should destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he again sent to Delphi, and having ascertained the number of the inhabitants, presented each of them with two staters of gold. In return for this, the Delphians gave Cræsus and the Lydians the right to consult the oracle before any others, and exemption from tribute, and the first seats in the temple, and the privilege of being made citizens of Delphi, to as many as should desire it in all future time. 55. Cræsus having made these presents to the Delphians, sent a third time to consult the oracle. For after he had ascertained the veracity of the oracle, he had frequent recourse to it. His demand now was, whether he should long enjoy the king-

dom? to which the Pythian gave this answer: "When a mule shall become king of the Medes, then, tender-footed Lydian, flee over pebbly Hermus, nor tarry, nor blush to be a coward."

56. With this answer, when reported to him, Cræsus was more than ever delighted, thinking that a mule should never be king of the Medes instead of a man, and consequently that neither he nor his posterity should ever be deprived of the kingdom. In the next place he began to inquire carefully who were the most powerful of the Greeks whom he might gain over as allies; and on inquiry found that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians excelled the rest, the former being of Dorian, the latter of Ionic descent: for these were in ancient time the most distinguished, the latter being a Pelasgian, the other an Hellenic nation; the latter had never emigrated, but the former had very often changed their seat; for under the reign of Deucalion they inhabited the country of Phthiotis; and in the time of Dorus, the son of Hellen, the country at the foot of Ossa and Olympus, called Histiaëotis: when they were driven out of Histiaëotis by the Cadmæans, they settled on Mount Pidnus, at a place called Macednum; thence they again removed to Dryopis; and at length coming into Peloponnesus, were called Dorians.

57. What language the Pelasgians used I cannot with certainty affirm; but if I may form a conjecture from those Pelasgians who now exist, and who now inhabit the town of Crestona above the Tyrrhenians, and who were formerly neighbours to those now called Dorians, and at that time occupied the country at present called Thessaliotis; and *if I may conjecture* from those Pelasgians settled at Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, and who once dwelt with the Athenians,⁵ and whatever other cities, which, though really Pelasgian, have changed their name; if, I say, I may be permitted to conjecture from these, the Pelasgians spoke a barbarous language. And if the whole Pelasgian body did so, the Attic race, being Pelasgic, must at the time they changed into Hellenes have altered their language. For neither do the Crestonians use the same language with any of their neighbours, nor do the people of Placia, but both use the same language; by which it appears they have taken care to pre-

⁵ For the reason of their separation, see VI. 137.

serve the character of the language they brought with them into those places. 58. The Hellenic race, however, as appears to me, from the time they became a people have used the same language: though, when separated from the Pelasgians, they were at first insignificant, yet from a small beginning they have increased to a multitude of nations, chiefly by a union with many other barbarous nations. Wherefore it appears to me, that the Pelasgic race, being barbarous, never increased to any great extent.

59. Of these nations then Croesus learnt that the Attic was oppressed and distracted by Pisistratus son of Hippocrates, then reigning in Athens: to this Hippocrates, who was at the time a private person, and a spectator at the Olympian games, a great prodigy occurred. For having killed a victim, the caldrons, which were full of flesh and water, bubbled up without any fire and boiled over. Chilon the Lacedæmonian, who was accidentally there, and saw the prodigy, advised Hippocrates, first of all, not to marry any woman by whom he might have children; or, if he was already married, then to put away his wife; and if he happened to have a son, to disown him. However, Hippocrates, when Chilon gave this advice, would not be persuaded; and had afterwards this same Pisistratus; who, when a quarrel happened between those who dwelt on the sea-coast and the Athenians, the former headed by Megacles son of Alcæon, the latter by Lycurgus son of Aristolaides, aiming at the sovereign power, formed a third party; and having assembled his partisans under colour of protecting those of the mountains, he contrived this stratagem. Having wounded himself and his mules, he drove his chariot into the public square, as if he had escaped from enemies that designed to murder him in his way to the country; and besought the people to grant him a guard, having before acquired renown in the expedition against Megara, by taking Nisæa,⁶ and displaying other illustrious deeds. The people of Athens, being deceived by this, gave him such of the citizens as he selected, who were not to be his javelin men, but club-bearers, for they attended him with clubs of wood. These men, therefore, joining in revolt with Pisistratus, seized the Acropolis, and thereupon Pisistratus assumed the government of the Atheni-

⁶ Nisæa was the port of the Megarians, about two miles from the city.

ans, neither disturbing the existing magistracies, nor altering the laws ; but he administered the government according to the established institutions, ordering it liberally and well. 60. Not long after, the partisans of Megacles and Lycurgus, being reconciled, drove him out. In this manner Pisistratus first made himself master of Athens, and, his power not being very firmly rooted, lost it. But those who expelled Pisistratus quarrelled anew with one another ; and Megacles, harassed by the sedition, sent a herald to Pisistratus to ask if he was willing to marry his daughter, on condition of having the sovereignty. Pisistratus having accepted the proposal and agreed to his terms, in order to his restitution, they contrive the most ridiculous project that, I think, was ever imagined ; especially *if we consider*, that the Greeks have from old been distinguished from the barbarians as being more acute and free from all foolish simplicity, and more particularly as they played this trick upon the Athenians, who are esteemed among the wisest of the Grecians. In the Pæanean tribe was a woman named Phya, four cubits high, wanting three fingers, and in other respects handsome ; having dressed this woman in a complete suit of armour, and placed her on a chariot, and having shown her beforehand how to assume the most becoming demeanour, they drove her to the city, having sent heralds before, who, on their arrival in the city, proclaimed what was ordered in these terms : “ O Athenians, receive with kind wishes Pisistratus, whom Minerva herself, honouring above all men, now conducts back to her own citadel.” They then went about proclaiming this ; and a report was presently spread among the people that Minerva was bringing back Pisistratus ; and the people in the city believing this woman to be the goddess, both adored a human being, and received Pisistratus.

61. Pisistratus having recovered the sovereignty in the manner above described, married the daughter of Megacles in accordance with his agreement. But as he already had grown-up sons, and as the Alcæonidæ were said to be under a curse,⁷ he, wishing not to have any children by his newly-married wife, had intercourse with her unnaturally. The woman at first kept the thing a secret, but afterwards, whether ques-

⁷ See the cause of this, B. V. 71.

tioned by her mother or not, she discovered it to her, and she to her husband. He felt highly indignant at being dishonoured by Pisistratus, and in his rage instantly reconciled himself to those of the opposite faction;⁸ but Pisistratus hearing of the designs that were being formed against him, withdrew entirely out of the country, and arriving in Eretria,⁹ consulted with his sons. The opinion of Hippias prevailing, to recover the kingdom, they immediately began to collect contributions from those cities which felt any gratitude to them for benefits received; and though many gave large sums, the Thebans surpassed the rest in liberality. At length (not to give a detailed account) time passed, and every thing was ready for their return, for Argive mercenaries arrived from Peloponnesus; and a man of Naxos, named Lygdamis, who had come as a volunteer, and brought both men and money, showed great zeal in the cause. 62. Having set out from Eretria, they came back in the eleventh year of their exile, and first of all possessed themselves of Marathon. While they lay encamped in this place, both their partisans from the city joined them, and others from the various districts, to whom a tyranny was more welcome than liberty, crowded to them; thus they were collected together. The Athenians of the city, on the other hand, had shown very little concern all the time Pisistratus was collecting money, or even when he took possession of Marathon. But when they heard that he was marching from Marathon against the city, they at length went out to resist him; so they marched with their whole force against the invaders. In the mean time Pisistratus's party, having set out from Marathon, advanced towards the city, and arrived in a body at the temple of the Pallenian¹ Minerva, and there took up their position. Here Amphilytus, a prophet of Acarnania, moved by divine impulse, approached Pisistratus, and pronounced this oracle in hexameter verse: "The cast is thrown, and the net is spread; by the moonlight the tunnies will rush in."

⁸ Schweighæuser translates it "to his former partisans." See *Cary's Lexicon to Herodotus*.

⁹ There were two places of this name, one in Thessaly and another in Eubœa. Pisistratus retired to this last. *Larcher*.

¹ Pallene was the name of one of the boroughs of Attica, belonging to the tribe Antiochides, on the road from Marathon to Athens.

63. He, inspired by the god, uttered this prophecy ; and Pisistratus, comprehending the oracle, and saying he accepted the omen, led on his army. The Athenians of the city were then engaged at their breakfast, and some of them after breakfast had betaken themselves to dice, others to sleep ; so that the army of Pisistratus, falling upon them by surprise, soon put them to flight ; and as they were flying, Pisistratus contrived a clever stratagem to prevent their rallying again, and that they might be thoroughly dispersed. He mounted his sons on horseback and sent them forward ; and they, having overtaken the fugitives, spoke as they were ordered by Pisistratus, bidding them be of good cheer, and to depart every man to his own home. 64. The Athenians yielded a ready obedience, and thus Pisistratus, having a third time possessed himself of Athens, secured his power more firmly both by the aid of auxiliary forces, and by revenues partly collected at home and partly drawn from the river Strymon.² He also seized as hostages the sons of the Athenians who had held out against him, and had not immediately fled, and settled them at Naxos ; which island Pisistratus had formerly subdued, and given in charge to Lygdamis : he, moreover, purified the island of Delos, in obedience to an oracle. And he purified it in the following manner : having dug up the dead bodies, as far as the prospect from the temple reached, he removed them to another part of Delos. Thus Pisistratus ruled despotically over the Athenians ; but of them, some had fallen in the battle, and others fled from their homes with the son of Alcmaeon.³

65. Cræsus, therefore, was informed that such was, at that time, the condition of the Athenians ; and that the Lacedæmonians, having extricated themselves out of great difficulties, had first gained the mastery over the Tegeans in war. For during the reign of Leo and Hegesicles, kings of Sparta, the Lacedæmonians were successful in all other wars, and were worsted by the Tegeans only. And long before their reign they had been governed by the worst laws of almost any people in Greece, both as regarded their dealings with one another, and in holding no intercourse with strangers.

² The country between the Strymon and the Nessus was celebrated for its mines. *Larcher.*

³ Megacles.

But they changed to a good government in the following manner: Lycurgus, a man much esteemed by the Spartans, having arrived at Delphi to consult the oracle, no sooner entered the temple, than the Pythian spoke as follows: "Thou art come, Lycurgus, to my wealthy temple, beloved by Jove and all that inhabit Olympian mansions: I doubt whether I shall pronounce thee god or man; but rather god, I think, Lycurgus." Some men say that, besides this, the Pythian also communicated to him that form of government now established among the Spartans. But, as the Lacedæmonians themselves affirm, Lycurgus, being appointed guardian to his nephew Leobotas,⁴ king of Sparta, brought those institutions from Crete. For as soon as he had taken the guardianship, he altered all their customs, and took care that no one should transgress them. Afterwards he established military regulations, the enomotiae, the triecades, and the syssitia,⁵ and besides these he instituted the ephori and senators. 66. Thus, having changed their laws, they established good institutions in their stead: and having erected a temple to Lycurgus after his death, they held him in the highest reverence. As they had a good soil and abundant population, they quickly sprang up and flourished. And now they were no longer content to live in peace; but proudly considering themselves superior to the Arcadians, they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, touching the conquest of the whole country of the Arcadians; and the Pythian gave them this answer: "Dost thou ask of me Arcadia? thou askest a great deal; I cannot grant it thee. There are many acorn-eating men in Arcadia, who will hinder thee. But I do not grudge thee all; I will give thee Tegea to dance on with beating of the feet, and a fair plain to measure out by the rod." When the Lacedæmonians heard this answer reported, they laid aside their design against all Arcadia; and, relying on an equivocal oracle, led an army against Tegea only, carrying fetters with them, as if they would surely reduce the Tegeans to slavery. But being defeated in an engagement, as many of them as were taken alive, were compelled to work,

⁴ It is generally agreed that the name of Lycurgus's nephew was not Leobotas, but Charilaus.

⁵ For an account of these several institutions see Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.

wearing the fetters they had brought, and measuring the lands of the Tegeans with a rod. Those fetters in which they were bound, were, even in my time, preserved in Tegea, suspended around the temple of Alean Minerva.

67. In the first war, therefore, they had constantly fought against the Tegeans with ill success; but in the time of Cræsus, and during the reign of Anaxandrides and Ariston at Lacedæmon, they had at length become superior in the war, and they became so in the following manner: when they had always been worsted in battle by the Tegeans, they sent to inquire of the oracle at Delphi, what god they should propitiate, in order to become victorious over the Tegeans. The Pythian answered, *they should become so*, when they had brought back the bones of Orestes the son of Agamemnon. But as they were unable to find the sepulchre of Orestes, they sent again to inquire of the god in what spot Orestes lay interred, and the Pythian gave this answer to the inquiries of those who came to consult her: "In the level plain of Arcadia lies Tegea, where two winds by hard compulsion blow, and stroke answers to stroke, and woe lies on woe. There life-engendering earth contains Agamemnon's son; convey him home, and you will be victorious over Tegea." When the Lacedæmonians heard this, they were as far off the discovery as ever, though they searched every where: till Lichas, one of the Spartans who are called Agathoergi, found it. These Agathoergi consist of citizens who are discharged from serving in the cavalry, such as are senior, five in every year: it is their duty during the year in which they are discharged from the cavalry, not to remain inactive, but go to different places where they are sent by the Spartan commonwealth.

68. Lichas, who was one of these persons, discovered it in Tegea, both meeting with good fortune and employing sagacity. For as the Lacedæmonians had at that time intercourse with the Tegeans, he, coming to a smithy, looked attentively at the iron being forged, and was struck with wonder when he saw what was done. The smith perceiving his astonishment desisted from his work, and said, "O Laconian stranger, you would certainly have been astonished had you seen what I saw, since you are so surprised at the working of iron. For as I was endeavouring to sink a well in this enclosure, in digging, I came to a coffin seven cubits long; and

because I did not believe that men were ever taller than they now are, I opened it, and saw that the body was equal to the coffin in length, and after I had measured it, I covered it up again. The man told him what he had seen, but Lichás, reflecting on what was said, conjectured from the words of the oracle, that this must be the body of Orestes, forming his conjecture on the following reasons: seeing the smith's two bellows he discerned in them the two winds, and in the anvil and hammer the stroke answering to stroke, and in the iron that was being forged the woe that lay on woe; representing it in this way, that iron had been invented to the injury of man. Having made this conjecture, he returned to Sparta, and gave the Lacedæmonians an account of the whole matter; they, having brought a feigned charge against him, sent him into banishment. He then, going back to Tegea, related his misfortune to the smith, and wished to hire the enclosure from him, but he would not let it. But in time, when he had persuaded him, he took up his abode there; and having opened the sepulchre and collected the bones, he carried them away with him to Sparta. From that time, whenever they made trial of each other's strength, the Lacedæmonians were by far superior in war; and the greater part of Peloponnesus had been already subdued by them.

69. Cræsus being informed of all these things, sent ambassadors to Sparta, with presents, and to request their alliance, having given them orders what to say; and when they were arrived they spoke as follows: "Cræsus, king of the Lydians and of other nations, has sent us with this message; 'O Lacedæmonians, since the deity has directed me by an oracle to unite myself to a Grecian friend, therefore (for I am informed that you are pre-eminent in Greece) I invite you in obedience to the oracle, being desirous of becoming your friend and ally, without treachery or guile.'" Cræsus therefore made this proposal by his ambassadors. But the Lacedæmonians, who had before heard of the answer given by the oracle to Cræsus, were gratified at the coming of the Lydians, and exchanged pledges of friendship and alliance; and indeed certain favours had been formerly conferred on them by Cræsus: for when the Lacedæmonians sent to Sardis to purchase gold, wishing to use it in erecting the statue of Apollo that now stands at Thornax in Laconia, Cræsus gave

it as a present to them, when they were desirous of purchasing it. 70. For this reason then, and because he had selected them from all the Greeks, and desired their friendship, the Lacedæmonians accepted his offer of alliance; and in the first place they promised to be ready at his summons; and in the next, having made a brazen bowl, and covered it outside to the rim with various figures, and capable of containing three hundred amphoræ, they sent it to him, being desirous of making Cræsus a present in return. But this bowl never reached Sardis, for one of the two following reasons: the Lacedæmonians say, that when this bowl, on its way to Sardis, was off Samos, the Samians having heard of it, sailed out in long ships, and took it away by force. On the other hand the Samians affirm, that when the Lacedæmonians who were conveying the bowl found they were too late, and heard that Sardis was taken, and Cræsus a prisoner, they sold the bowl in Samos, and that some private persons, who bought it, dedicated it in the temple of Juno. And perhaps they who sold it, when they returned to Sparta, might say that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. So it is then respecting this bowl.

71. Cræsus then, mistaking the oracle, prepared to invade Cappadocia, hoping to overthrow Cyrus and the power of the Persians. Whilst Cræsus was preparing for his expedition against the Persians, a certain Lydian, who before that time was esteemed a wise man, and on this occasion acquired a very great name in Lydia, gave him advice in these words (the name of this person was Sandanis): "O king, you are preparing to make war against a people who wear leather trousers, and the rest of their garments of leather; who inhabit a barren country, and feed not on such things as they choose, but such as they can get. Besides, they do not habitually use wine, but drink water; nor have they figs to eat, nor any thing that is good. In the first place, then, if you should conquer, what will you take from them, since they have nothing? On the other hand, if you should be conquered, consider what good things you will lose. For when they have tasted of our good things, they will become fond of them, nor will they be driven from them. As for me, I thank the gods, that they have not put it into the thoughts of the Persians to make war on the Lydians." In saying this, he did not

persuade Crœsus. Now before they subdued the Lydians, the Persians possessed nothing either luxurious or good. 72. The Cappadocians are by the Greeks called Syrians; these Syrians, before the establishment of the Persian power, were subject to the Medes; but then to Cyrus. For the boundary of the Median empire and the Lydian was the river Halys, which flows from the mountains of Armenia through Cilicia; and afterwards has the Matienians on the right and the Phrygians on the other side; then passing these and flowing up towards the north, it skirts the Syrian Cappadocians on one side, and the Paphlagonians on the left. Thus the river Halys divides almost the whole of lower Asia, from the sea opposite Cyprus to the Euxine: this is the isthmus of that whole country: as to the length of the journey, it takes five days for a well-girt man.⁶

73. Crœsus invaded Cappadocia for the following reasons; as well from a desire of adding it to his own dominions, as, especially, from his confidence in the oracle, and a wish to punish Cyrus on account of Astyages. For Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had subjugated Astyages, son of Cyaxares, who was brother-in-law of Crœsus, and king of the Medes. He had become brother-in-law to Crœsus in the following manner: a band of Scythian nomades having risen in rebellion, withdrew into Media: at that time Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, grandson of Deioces, ruled over the Medes; he, at first, received these Scythians kindly, as being suppliants; so much so, that esteeming them very highly, he intrusted some youths to them, to learn their language, and the use of the bow. In course of time, it happened, that these Scythians, who were constantly going out to hunt, and who always brought home something, on one occasion took nothing. On their returning empty-handed, Cyaxares (for he was, as he proved, of a violent temper) treated them with most opprobrious language. The Scythians, having met with this treatment from Cyaxares, and considering it undeserved by them, determined to kill one of the youths that were being educated under their care; and having prepared the flesh as they used to dress the beasts taken in hunting, to serve it up to Cyaxares as if it were game; and then to make their escape immedi-

⁶ The long flowing dresses of the ancients made it necessary to gird them up when they wished to move expeditiously.

ately to Alyattes, son of Sadyattes, at Sardis. This was accordingly done: and Cyaxares and his guests tasted of this flesh; and the Scythians, having done this, became suppliants to Alyattes. 74. After this, (for Alyattes refused to deliver up the Scythians to Cyaxares when he demanded them,) war lasted between the Lydians and the Medes for five years: during this period the Medes often defeated the Lydians, and often the Lydians *defeated* the Medes; and during this time they had a kind of nocturnal engagement. In the sixth year, when they were carrying on the war with nearly equal success, on occasion of an engagement, it happened that in the heat of the battle day was suddenly turned into night. This change of the day Thales the Milesian had foretold to the Ionians, fixing beforehand this year as the very period, in which the change actually took place. The Lydians and Medes seeing night succeeding in the place of day, desisted from fighting, and both showed a great anxiety to make peace. Syennesis⁷ the Cilician, and Labynetus⁸ the Babylonian, were the mediators of their reconciliation; these were they who hastened the treaty between them, and made a matrimonial connexion; for they persuaded Alyattes to give his daughter Aryenis in marriage to Astyages, son of Cyaxares. For without strong necessity, agreements are not wont to remain firm. These nations in their federal contracts observe the same ceremonies as the Greeks; and in addition, when they have cut their arms to the outer skin, they lick up one another's blood.

75. Cyrus had subdued this same Astyages, his grandfather by the mother's side, for reasons which I shall hereafter relate.⁹ Crœsus, alleging this against him, sent to consult the oracle, if he should make war on the Persians; and when an ambiguous answer came back, he, interpreting it to his own advantage, led his army against the territory of the Persians. When he arrived at the river Halys, Crœsus transported his forces, as I believe, by the bridges which are now there. But the common opinion of the Grecians is, that Thales the Milesian procured him a passage. For, whilst Crœsus was in

⁷ Syennesis seems to have been a name common to the kings of Cilicia. In addition to the one here mentioned, we meet with another in the time of Darius (V. 118), and a third in the time of Xerxes (VII. 98).

⁸ The same, says Prideaux, with the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture.

⁹ See ch. 121—130.

doubt how his army should pass over the river, (for *they say* that these bridges were not at that time in existence,) Thales, who was in the camp, caused the stream, which flowed along the left of the army, to flow likewise on the right; and he contrived it thus: having begun above the camp, he dug a deep trench, in the shape of a half-moon, so that the river, being turned into this from its old channel, might pass in the rear of the camp pitched where it then was, and afterwards, having passed by the camp, might fall into its former course; so that as soon as the river was divided into two streams it became fordable in both. Some say, that the ancient channel of the river was entirely dried up; but this I cannot assent to; for how then could they have crossed it on their return? 76. However, Cræsus, having passed the river with his army, came to a place called Pteria, in Cappadocia. (Now Pteria is the strongest position of the whole of this country, and is situated over against Sinope, a city on the Euxine Sea.) Here he encamped, and ravaged the lands of the Syrians; and took the city of the Pterians, and enslaved the inhabitants; he also took all the adjacent places, and expelled the inhabitants, who had given him no cause for blame. But Cyrus, having assembled his own army, and having taken with him all who inhabited the intermediate country, went to meet Cræsus. But before he began to advance, he sent heralds to the Ionians, to persuade them to revolt from Cræsus: the Ionians however refused. When Cyrus had come up and encamped opposite Cræsus, they made trial of each other's strength on the plains of Pteria: but when an obstinate battle took place, and many fell on both sides, they at last parted, on the approach of night, neither having been victorious. In this manner did the two armies engage.

77. But Cræsus laying the blame on his own army on account of the smallness of its numbers, for his forces that engaged were far fewer than those of Cyrus,—laying the blame on this, when on the following day Cyrus did not attempt to attack him, he marched back to Sardis, designing to summon the Egyptians according to treaty, for he had made an alliance with Amasis king of Egypt before he had with the Lacedæmonians; and to send for the Babylonians, (for he had made an alliance with them also, and Labynetus at this time reigned over the Babylonians,) and to require the presence of

the Lacedæmonians at a fixed time : having collected these together, and assembled his own army, he purposed, when winter was over, to attack the Persians in the beginning of the spring. With this design, when he reached Sardis, he despatched ambassadors to his different allies, requiring them to meet at Sardis before the end of five months ; but the army that was with him, and that had fought with the Persians, which was composed of mercenary troops, he entirely disbanded, not imagining that Cyrus, who had come off on such equal terms, would venture to advance upon Sardis. 78. While Cræsus was forming these plans the whole suburbs were filled with serpents, and when they appeared, the horses, forsaking their pastures, came and devoured them. When Cræsus beheld this, he considered it to be, as it really was, a prodigy, and sent immediately to consult the interpreters at Telmessus ; but the messengers having arrived there, and learnt from the Telmessians what the prodigy portended, were unable to report it to Cræsus, for before they sailed back to Sardis Cræsus had been taken prisoner. The Telmessians had pronounced as follows : “ that Cræsus must expect a foreign army to invade his country, which, on its arrival, would subdue the natives, because, they said, the serpent is a son of the earth, but the horse is an enemy and a stranger.” This answer the Telmessians gave to Cræsus when he had been already taken ; yet without knowing what had happened with respect to Sardis or Cræsus himself.

79. But Cyrus, as soon as Cræsus had retreated after the battle at Pteria, having discovered that it was the intention of Cræsus to disband his army, found, upon deliberation, that it would be to his advantage to march with all possible expedition on Sardis, before the forces of the Lydians could be a second time assembled ; and when he had thus determined, he put his plan into practice with all possible expedition, for having marched his army into Lydia, he brought this news of his own enterprise to Cræsus. Thereupon Cræsus, being thrown into great perplexity, seeing that matters had turned out contrary to his expectations, nevertheless drew out the Lydians to battle ; and at that time no nation in Asia was more valiant and warlike than the Lydians. Their mode of fighting was from on horseback ; they were armed with long lances, and managed their horses with admirable address.

80. The place where they met was the plain that lies before the city of Sardis, which is extensive and bare ; several rivers, as well as the Hyllus, flowing through it, force a passage into the greatest, called the Hermus, which flowing from the sacred mountain of mother Cybele, falls into the sea near the city of Phocæa. Here Cyrus, when he saw the Lydians drawn up in order of battle, alarmed at the cavalry, had recourse to the following stratagem, on the suggestion of Harpagus, a Mede. Having collected together all the camels that followed his army with provisions and baggage, and having caused their burdens to be taken off, he mounted men upon them equipped in cavalry accoutrements, and having furnished them, he ordered them to go in advance of the rest of his army against the Lydian horse ; and he commanded his infantry to follow the camels, and he placed the whole of his cavalry behind the infantry. When all were drawn up in order, he charged them not to spare any of the Lydians, but to kill every one they met ; but on no account to kill Cræsus, even if he should offer resistance when taken. Such were the orders he gave. He drew up the camels in the front of the cavalry, for this reason ; a horse is afraid of a camel, and cannot endure either to see its form or to scent its smell : for this reason, then, he had recourse to this stratagem, that the cavalry might be useless to Cræsus, by which the Lydian expected to signalize himself. Accordingly, when they joined battle, the horses no sooner smelt the camels and saw them, than they wheeled round, and the hopes of Cræsus were destroyed. Nevertheless the Lydians were not therefore discouraged, but when they perceived what had happened, leaped from their horses and engaged with the Persians on foot : at last, when many had fallen on both sides, the Lydians were put to flight, and being shut up within the walls, were besieged by the Persians.

81. Siege was then laid to them ; but Cræsus, thinking it would last a long time, sent other messengers from the city to his allies ; for those who were before sent requested them to assemble at Sardis on the fifth month, but he sent out these last to request them, to succour him with all speed, as he was already besieged. 82. He sent therefore to the rest of his allies, and especially to the Lacedæmonians ; but at that very time the Spartans themselves happened to have a

quarrel with the Argians about a tract called Thyrea ; for this Thyrea, which properly belongs to the territory of Argos, the Spartans had seized. And indeed the country that lies westward as far as Malea, both on the continent, and the island Cythera and the other islands, belongs to the Argians. The Argians having advanced to the defence of their country which had been thus seized upon, both parties, upon a conference, agreed that three hundred men on each side should engage, and that whichever party was victorious should be entitled to the disputed territory : but *it was stipulated*, that the main body of each army should withdraw to their own country, and not remain while the engagement was going on, lest if the armies were present, either side seeing their countrymen in distress, should come in to their assistance. Having agreed to these terms, the armies withdrew, and the picked men on each side remaining behind engaged : they fought with such equal success, that of the six hundred, three men only were left alive ; of the Argians, Alcenor and Chromius, and of the Lacedæmonians, Othryades ; these survived when night came on. The two Argians thinking themselves victorious, ran to Argos *with the news* ; but Othryades, the Lacedæmonian, having stripped the corpses of the Argians, and carried their arms to his own camp, continued at his post. On the next day both armies, being informed of the event, met again in the same place ; and for a time both laid claim to the victory ; the one side alleging that the greater number of their men survived ; the other side urging that those survivors had fled, and that their countryman had kept the field and spoiled their dead. At length, from words they betook themselves to blows ; and when many had fallen on both sides, the Lacedæmonians obtained the victory. From that time the Argians, cutting off their hair, which they had before been compelled to wear long, enacted a law, which was confirmed by a curse, that no Argian should suffer his hair to grow, nor any woman wear ornaments of gold, till they should recover Thyrea. On the other hand, the Lacedæmonians made a contrary law, enjoining all their people to wear long hair, which they had never done before. As to Othryades, who was the only one that survived of the three hundred, they say that, being ashamed to return to Sparta when all his fellow soldiers had perished, he put an end to himself at Thyrea. 83. When the affairs of the Spartans were in this

condition, the Sardinian ambassador arrived, and requested them to assist Crœsus, who was besieged in Sardis; they, however, no sooner heard the ambassadors' report, than they made preparations to succour him. But when they were now prepared to set out, and their ships were ready, another message reached them that the citadel of the Lydians was taken, and Crœsus made prisoner; they accordingly, deeming it a great misfortune, desisted from their enterprise.

84. Sardis was taken in the following manner. On the fourteenth day after Crœsus had been besieged, Cyrus sent horsemen throughout his army, and proclaimed that he would liberally reward the man who should first mount the wall: upon this several attempts were made, and as often failed; till, after the rest had desisted, a Mardian, whose name was Hyrcæades, endeavoured to climb up on that part of the citadel where no guard was stationed, because there did not appear to be any danger that it would be taken on that part, for on that side the citadel was precipitous and impracticable. Round this part alone, Meles, a former king of Sardis, had not brought the lion which his concubine bore to him, though the Telmessians had pronounced, that if the lion were carried round the wall, Sardis would be impregnable; but Meles, having caused it to be carried round the rest of the wall, where the citadel was exposed to assault, neglected this, as altogether unassailable and precipitous: this is the quarter of the city that faces Mount Tmolus. Now this Hyrcæades the Mardian having seen a Lydian come down this precipice the day before, for a helmet that was rolled down, and carry it up again, noticed it carefully, and reflected on it in his mind: he thereupon ascended the same way, followed by divers Persians; and when great numbers had gone up, Sardis was thus taken, and the whole town plundered.

85. The following incidents befel Crœsus himself. He had a son of whom I have before made mention, who was in other respects proper enough, but dumb. Now, in the time of his former prosperity, Crœsus had done every thing he could for him, and among other expedients had sent to consult the oracle of Delphi concerning him; but the Pythian gave him this answer: "O Lydian born, king of many, very foolish Crœsus, wish not to hear the longed-for voice of thy son speaking within thy palace: it were better for thee that this

should be far off; for he will first speak in an unhappy day." When the city was taken, one of the Persians, not knowing Cræsus, was about to kill him: Cræsus, though he saw him approach, from his present misfortune, took no heed of him, nor did he care about dying by the blow; but this speechless son of his, when he saw the Persian advancing against him, through dread and anguish, burst into speech, and said, "Man, kill not Cræsus." These were the first words he ever uttered; but from that time he continued to speak during the remainder of his life. 86. So the Persians got possession of Sardis, and made Cræsus prisoner, after he had reigned fourteen years, been besieged fourteen days, and lost his great empire, as the oracle had predicted. The Persians, having taken him, conducted him to Cyrus; and he, having heaped up a great pile, placed Cræsus upon it, bound with fetters, and with him fourteen young Lydians; designing either to offer this sacrifice to some god, as the first-fruits of his victory, or wishing to perform a vow; or perhaps, having heard that Cræsus was a religious person, he placed him on the pile for the purpose of discovering whether any deity would save him from being burnt alive. He accordingly did what has been related: *it is added*, that when Cræsus stood upon the pile, notwithstanding the weight of his misfortunes, the words of Solon recurred to him, as spoken by inspiration of the deity, that "no living man could be justly called happy." When this occurred to him, *it is said*, that after a long silence he recovered himself, and uttering a groan, thrice pronounced the name of Solon; that when Cyrus heard him, he commanded his interpreters to ask Cræsus, whom it was he called upon; that they drew near and asked him; but Cræsus for some time kept silence; but at last, being constrained to speak, said, "I named a man, whose discourses I more desire all tyrants might hear, than to be possessor of the greatest riches." When he gave them this obscure answer, they again inquired what he said: and when they persisted in their inquiries, and were very importunate, he at length told them, that Solon, an Athenian, formerly visited him, and having viewed all his treasures, made no account of them: telling, in a word, how every thing had befallen him as Solon had warned him, though his discourse related to all mankind as much as to himself, and especially to those who imagine themselves happy. *They say*, that

Crœsus gave this explanation ; and that the pile being now kindled, the outer parts began to burn ; and that Cyrus, informed by the interpreters of what Crœsus had said, relented, and considering that being but a man, he was yet going to burn another man alive, who had been no way inferior to himself in prosperity ; and moreover fearing retribution, and reflecting that nothing human is constant, commanded the fire to be instantly extinguished, and Crœsus, with those who were about him, to be taken down ; and that they with all their endeavours were unable to master the fire. 87. It is related by the Lydians, that Crœsus, perceiving that Cyrus had altered his resolution, when he saw every man endeavouring to put out the fire, but unable to get the better of it, shouted aloud, invoking Apollo, and besought him, if ever any of his offerings had been agreeable to him, to protect and deliver him from the present danger : *they report*, that he with tears invoked the god, and that on a sudden clouds were seen gathering in the air, which before was serene, and that a violent storm burst forth and vehement rain fell and extinguished the flames ; by which Cyrus perceiving that Crœsus was beloved by the gods, and a good man, when he had had him taken down from the pile, asked him the following question : “ Who persuaded you, Crœsus, to invade my territories, and to become my enemy instead of my friend ? ” He answered : “ O king, I have done this for your good but my own evil fortune, and the god of the Greeks who encouraged me to make war is the cause of all. For no man is so void of understanding as to prefer war before peace ; for in the latter children bury their fathers ; in the former, fathers bury their children. But, I suppose, it pleased the gods that these things should be so.”

88. He then thus spoke : but Cyrus, having set him at liberty, placed him by his own side, and showed him great respect ; and both he and all those that were with him were astonished at what they saw. But Crœsus, absorbed in thought, remained silent ; and presently turning round and beholding the Persians sacking the city of the Lydians, he said, “ Does it become me, O king, to tell you what is passing through my mind, or to keep silence on the present occasion ? ” Cyrus bid him say with confidence whatever he wished ; upon which Crœsus asked him, saying, “ What

is this vast crowd so earnestly employed about?" He answered, "They are sacking your city, and plundering your riches." "Not so," Cræsus replied; "they are neither sacking my city, nor plundering my riches, for they no longer belong to me, but they are ravaging what belongs to you."

89. The reply of Cræsus attracted the attention of Cyrus; he therefore ordered all the rest to withdraw, and asked Cræsus what he thought should be done in the present conjuncture. He answered: "Since the gods have made me your servant, I think it my duty to acquaint you, if I perceive any thing deserving of remark. The Persians, who are by nature overbearing, are poor. If, therefore, you permit them to plunder and possess great riches, you may expect the following results: whoso acquires the greatest possessions, be assured, will be ready to rebel. Therefore, if you approve what I say, adopt the following plan: place some of your body-guard as sentinels at every gate, with orders to take the booty from all those who would go out, and to acquaint them that the tenth must of necessity be consecrated to Jupiter: thus you will not incur the odium of taking away their property; and they, acknowledging your intention to be just, will readily obey."

90. Cyrus, when he heard this, was exceedingly delighted, as he thought the suggestion a very good one: having therefore commended it highly, and ordered his guards to do what Cræsus suggested, he addressed Cræsus as follows: "Cræsus, since you are resolved to display the deeds and words of a true king, ask whatever boon you desire on the instant." "Sir," he answered, "the most acceptable favour you can bestow upon me is, to let me send my fetters to the god of the Grecians, whom I have honoured more than any other deity, and to ask him, if it be his custom to deceive those who deserve well of him." Cyrus asked him what cause he had to complain, that induced him to make this request: upon which Cræsus recounted to him all his projects, and the answers of the oracles, and particularly the offerings he had presented; and how he was incited by the oracle to make war against the Persians. When he had said this, he again besought him to grant him leave to reproach the god with these things. But Cyrus, smiling, said, "You shall not only receive this boon from me, but whatever else you may at any time desire." When Cræsus heard this, he sent certain Ly-

dians to Delphi, with orders to lay his fetters at the entrance of the temple, and to ask the god, if he were not ashamed to have encouraged Cræsus by his oracles to make war on the Persians, *assuring him* that he would put an end to the power of Cyrus, of which war such were the first-fruits, (*commanding them at these words* to show the fetters,) and at the same time to ask if it were the custom of the Grecian gods to be ungrateful. 91. When the Lydians arrived at Delphi, and had delivered their message, the Pythian is reported to have made this answer: "The god himself even cannot avoid the decrees of fate; and Cræsus has atoned the crime of his ancestor in the fifth generation,¹ who, being one of the body-guard of the Heraclidæ, was induced by the artifice of a woman to murder his master, and to usurp his dignity, to which he had no right. But although Apollo was desirous that the fall of Sardis might happen in the time of the sons of Cræsus, and not during his reign, yet it was not in his power to avert the fates; but so far as they allowed he accomplished, and conferred the boon on him; for he delayed the capture of Sardis for the space of three years. Let Cræsus know, therefore, that he was taken prisoner three years later than the fates had ordained: and in the next place, he came to his relief, when he was upon the point of being burnt alive. Then, as to the prediction of the oracle, Cræsus has no right to complain; for Apollo foretold him that if he made war on the Persians, he would subvert a great empire; and had he desired to be truly informed, he ought to have sent again to inquire, whether his own or that of Cyrus was meant. But since he neither understood the oracle, nor inquired again, let him lay the blame on himself. And when he last consulted the oracle, he did not understand the answer concerning the mule; for Cyrus was that mule; inasmuch as he was born of parents of different nations, the mother superior, but the father inferior. For she was a Mede, and daughter of Astyages king of Media; but he was a Persian, subject to the Medes; and though in every respect inferior, he married his own mistress." The Pythian gave this answer to the Lydians, and they carried it back to Sardis, and reported it to Cræsus, and he, when he heard it, acknowledged

¹ Cræsus was the fifth descendant of Gyges, if we include the two extremes; for the house of the Mermnadæ was as follows: Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes, Cræsus. See chap. 13.

the fault to be his, and not the god's. Such is the account of the kingdom of Cræsus, and the first subjection of Ionia.

92. Many other offerings were also consecrated by Cræsus in Greece, besides those already mentioned. For at Thebes of Bœotia there is a golden tripod, which he dedicated to Ismenian Apollo; and in Ephesus, the golden heifers, and several of the pillars; and in the Pronæa at Delphi a large golden shield. All these were in existence in my day; but others have been lost. The offerings he dedicated in Branchis, a city of the Milesians, were, as I am informed, equal in weight and similar to those at Delphi. Now the offerings which he made to Delphi and to Amphiaræus, were his own property and the first-fruits of his patrimonial riches; but the rest were the produce of the property of an enemy who, before he came to the throne, had set up an adverse faction, endeavouring to raise Pantaleon to the throne: now Pantaleon was the son of Alyattes, but of the same mother as Cræsus; for Alyattes had Cræsus by a Carian, and Pantaleon by an Ionian woman. When therefore Cræsus by the will of his father obtained the kingdom, he put his opponent to death by tearing his flesh with a fuller's thistle; and having already vowed all his treasure to the gods, he dedicated it in the manner above described to the places I have mentioned. And this may suffice respecting the offerings.

93. The Lydian territory does not present many wonders worthy of description, like some other countries, except the gold dust brought down from Mount Tmolus. It exhibits, however, one work the greatest of all, except those of the Egyptians and Babylonians. There is there a monument to Alyattes, father of Cræsus, the basis of which is composed of large stones, the rest is a mound of earth. This fabric was raised by merchants, artificers, and prostitutes. On the summit of this monument there remained, even in my day, five termini, upon which were inscriptions, showing how much of the work each class executed, and when measured the work of the females proved to be the greatest. For the daughters of the Lydian common people all prostitute themselves, for the purpose of providing themselves with dowries; and they continue to do so until they marry; and they dispose of themselves in marriage. This monument is six stades and two pletbra in circumference, and in breadth, thirteen pletbra;

contiguous to it is a large lake, which the Lydians say is fed by perpetual springs, and it is called the Gygean lake. This may suffice for this subject.

94. The customs of the Lydians differ little from those of the Grecians, except that they prostitute their females. They are the first of all nations we know of that introduced the art of coining gold and silver ; and they were the first retailers. The Lydians themselves say that the games which are now common to themselves and the Greeks, were their invention ; and they say they were invented about the time they sent a colony to Tyrrhenia, of all which they give the following account. During the reign of Atys, son of Manes king of Lydia, a great scarcity of corn pervaded all Lydia : for some time the Lydians supported it with constancy ; but when they saw the evil still continuing they sought for remedies, and some devised one thing, some another ; and at that time the games of dice, hucklebones, ball, and all other kinds of games except draughts, were invented, for the Lydians do not claim the invention of this last ; and having made these inventions to alleviate the famine, they employed them as follows : they used to play one whole day that they might not be in want of food ; and on the next, they eat and abstained from play ; thus they passed eighteen years ; but when the evil did not abate, on the contrary became still more virulent, their king divided the whole people into two parts, and cast lots which should remain and which quit the country, and over that part whose lot it should be to stay he appointed himself king ; and over that part which was to emigrate he appointed his own son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. Those to whose lot it fell to leave their country went down to Smyrna, built ships, and having put all their movables which were of use on board, set sail in search of food and land, till having passed by many nations, they reached the Ombrici, where they built towns, and dwell to this day. From being called Lydians, they changed their name to one after the king's son, who led them out ; from him they gave themselves the appellation of Tyrrhenians. The Lydians then were reduced under the power of the Persians.

95. My history hence proceeds to inquire who Cyrus was that overthrew the power of Cræsus, and how the Persians became masters of Asia. In which narration I shall fol-

low those Persians, who do not wish to magnify the actions of Cyrus, but to relate the plain truth ; though I am aware that there are three other ways of relating Cyrus's history. After the Assyrians had ruled over Upper Asia five hundred and twenty years, the Medes first began to revolt from them ; and they it seems, in their struggle with the Assyrians for liberty, proved themselves brave men ; and having shaken off the yoke, became free : afterwards the other nations also did the same as the Medes. When all throughout the continent were independent, they were again reduced under a despotic government in the following manner. 96. There was among the Medes a man famous for wisdom, named Deioces, son of Phraortes. This Deioces, aiming at absolute power, had recourse to the following plan. The Medes were at that time distributed into villages, and Deioces, who was already highly esteemed in his own district, applied himself with great zeal to the exercise of justice ; and this he did, since great lawlessness prevailed throughout the whole of Media, and he knew that injustice and justice are ever at variance. The Medes of the same village, observing his conduct, chose him for their judge ; and he, constantly keeping the sovereign power in view, showed himself upright and just. By this conduct he acquired no slight praise from his fellow citizens, so much so that the inhabitants of other villages, hearing that Deioces was the only one who judged uprightly, having before met with unjust sentences, when they heard of him gladly came from all parts to Deioces, in order to submit their quarrels to his decision ; and at last they would commit the decision to no one else. 97. In the end, when the number of those who had recourse to him continually increased as men heard of the justice of his decisions, Deioces, seeing the whole devolved upon himself, would no longer occupy the seat where he used to sit to determine differences, and refused to act as judge any more, for that it was of no advantage to him to neglect his own affairs, and spend the day in deciding the quarrels of others. Upon this, rapine and lawlessness growing far more frequent throughout the villages than before, the Medes called an assembly and consulted together about the present state of things, but, as I suspect, the partisans of Deioces spoke to the following purpose : " Since it is impossible for us to inhabit the country if we continue in our present condition, let us

constitute a king over us, and so the country will be governed by good laws, and we ourselves shall be able to attend to our business, nor be any longer driven from our homes by lawlessness." By some such words they persuaded them to submit to a kingly government. 98. Upon their immediately putting the question, whom they should appoint king, Deioces was unanimously preferred and commended ; so that at last they agreed that he should be their king. But he required them to build him a palace suitable to the dignity of a king, and guards for the security of his person. The Medes accordingly did so : and built him a spacious and strong palace in the part of the country that he selected, and permitted him to choose guards for his person out of all the Medes. Being thus possessed of the power, he compelled the Medes to build one city, and having carefully adorned that, to pay less attention to the others. And as the Medes obeyed him in this also, he built lofty and strong walls, which now go under the name of Ecbatana,² one placed in a circle within the other ; and this fortification is so contrived, that each circle was raised above the other by the height of the battlements only. The situation of the ground, rising by an easy ascent, was very favourable to the design. But that which was particularly attended to is, that there being seven circles altogether, the king's palace and the treasury are situated within the innermost of them. The largest of these walls is about equal in circumference to the city of Athens ; the battlements of the first circle are white, of the second black, of the third purple, of the fourth blue, of the fifth bright red. Thus the battlements of all the circles are painted with different colours ; but the two last have their battlements plaited, the one with silver, the other with gold.

99. Deioces then built these fortifications for himself, and round his own palace ; and he commanded the rest of the people to fix their habitations round the fortification ; and when all the buildings were completed he, for the first time, established the following regulations : that no man should be admitted to the king's presence, but every one should consult him by means of messengers, and that none should be permitted to see him ; and, moreover, that it should be accounted

² For the Scripture account of Ecbatana, see Judith i. 1—4.

indecentcy for any to laugh or spit before him. He established such ceremony about his own person, for this reason, that those who were his equals, and who were brought up with him, and of no meaner family, nor inferior to him in manly qualities, might not, when they saw him, grieve and conspire against him ; but that he might appear to be of a different nature to them who did not see him. 100. When he had established these regulations, and settled himself in the tyranny, he was very severe in the distribution of justice. And the parties contending were obliged to send him their case in writing ; and he having come to a decision, on the cases so laid before him, sent them back again. This then was his plan in reference to matters of litigation. And all other things were regulated by him : so that, if he received information that any man had injured another, he would presently send for him, and punish him in proportion to his offence ; and for this purpose he had spies and eves-droppers in every part of his dominions.

101. Now Deioces collected the Medes into one nation, and ruled over that. The following are the tribes of the Medes, the Busæ, Parataceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii, and the Magi. Such are the tribes of the Medes. 102. Deioces had a son, Phraortes, who, when his father died, after a reign of fifty-three years, succeeded him in the kingdom ; but having so succeeded, he was not content to rule over the Medes only, but, having made war on the Persians, he attacked them first, and reduced them under the dominion of the Medes. And afterwards being master of these two nations, both of them powerful, he subdued Asia, attacking one nation after another ; till at last he invaded the Assyrians, who inhabited the city of Nineveh, and who had before been supreme, though at that time they were abandoned by their confederates, (who had revolted,) but who were otherwise in good condition : Phraortes then, having made war on them, perished with the greater part of his army, after he had reigned twenty-two years.

103. When Phraortes was dead, Cyaxares his son, grandson of Deioces, succeeded him. He is said to have been more warlike than his ancestors. He first divided the people of Asia into cohorts, and first divided them into spearmen, archers, and cavalry ; whereas before they had been confusedly mixed together. It was he that fought with the Lydians,

when the day was turned into night,³ as they were fighting ; and who subjected the whole of Asia above the river Halys. He assembled the forces of all his subjects, and marched against Nineveh to avenge his father, and destroy that city. However, when he had obtained a victory over the Assyrians, and while he was besieging Nineveh, a great army of Scythians came upon him, under the conduct of their king Madyes, son of Protothyas. These Scythians had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and pursuing them into Asia, by that means entered the territories of the Medes. 104. The distance from the lake Mæotis to the river Phasis and to Colchis, is a journey of thirty days to a well-girt man,⁴ but the route from Colchis to Media is not long, for there is only one nation, the Saspires, between them : when one has passed over this, one finds oneself in Media. The Scythians, however, did not pass by this way, but turned to the higher road by a much longer route, having Mount Caucasus on the right,⁵ and there the Medes coming to an engagement with the Scythians, and being worsted in the battle, lost their dominion ; but the Scythians became masters of all Asia. 105. From thence they proceeded to Egypt, and when they reached Palestine in Syria, Psammitichus, king of Egypt, having met them with presents and prayers, diverted them from advancing further. In their return, however, they came to Ascalon, a city of Syria, and when most of them had marched through without doing any injury, some few, who were left behind, pillaged the temple of Celestial Venus. This temple, as I find by inquiry, is the most ancient of all the temples dedicated to this goddess : for that in Cyprus was built after this, as the Cyprians themselves confess ; and that in Cythera was erected by Phœnicians who came from the same part of Syria. However, the goddess inflicted on the Scythians who robbed her temple at Ascalon, and on all their posterity, a female disease ; so that the Scythians confess that they are afflicted with it on this account, and those who visit Scythia may see in what a state they are whom the Scythians call Enarees. 106. For twenty-eight years, then, the Scythians governed Asia, and every thing was overthrown by their licentiousness and neglect ; for besides the usual tribute, they exacted from

³ See chap. 74.⁴ See chap. 72, n.⁵ See B. IV. chap. 12, and B. VII. chap. 20.

each whatever they chose to impose ; and, in addition to the tribute, they rode round the country and plundered them of all their possessions. Now Cyaxares and the Medes invited the greatest part of them to a feast, and having made them drunk, put them to death ; and so the Medes recovered their former power, and all they had possessed before ; and they took Nineveh, (how they took it, I will relate in another work,⁶) and reduced the Assyrians into subjection, with the exception of the Babylonian district. Having accomplished these things, Cyaxares died, after he had reigned forty years, including the time of the Scythian dominion.

107. Astyages the son of Cyaxares succeeded him in the kingdom. He had a daughter, to whom he gave the name of Mandane. He dreamt that she made so great a quantity of water, as not only filled his own city, but overflowed all Asia. And having communicated this dream to those of the Magi who interpret dreams, he was exceedingly alarmed when informed by them of every particular ; and he afterwards gave this Mandane, when arrived at a marriageable age, to no one of the Medes who was worthy of her, through dread of the vision ; but to a Persian, named Cambyses, whom he found descended of a good family, and of a peaceful disposition, deeming him far inferior to a Mede of moderate rank. 108. In the first year after Mandane was married to Cambyses, Astyages saw another vision : it appeared to him that a vine grew up from his daughter's womb, and that the vine covered all Asia. Having seen this and communicated it to the interpreters of dreams, he sent to Persia for his daughter, who was then near her time of delivery ; and upon her arrival he put her under a guard, resolving to destroy whatever should be born of her ; for the Magian interpreters had signified to him from his vision, that the issue of his daughter would reign in his stead. Astyages therefore, guarding against this, as soon as Cyrus was born, sent for Harpagus, a kinsman of his, and the most faithful of all the Medes, and the manager of all his affairs, and said to him, " Harpagus, on no account fail to perform the business I now charge you

⁶ Several passages of our author seem to prove that Herodotus wrote other histories than those which have come down to us. In the 184th chapter of this book he speaks of his Assyrian history ; in the 161st of the 2nd of the Libyan.

with; nor expose me to danger by deceiving me; nor, by preferring another, draw ruin upon thy own head. Take the child that Mandane has given birth to, carry him to your own house and kill him, and afterwards bury him in whatever way you think fit." Harpagus answered, "O king, you have never yet observed any ingratitude in me, and I shall take care never to offend you for the future. If therefore it is your pleasure that this thing should be done, it is fitting that I readily obey you." 109. Harpagus, having given this answer, when the child had been put into his hands, adorned as if for death, returned home weeping; and upon his arrival he told his wife all that Astyages had said. She asked him, "What then do you purpose to do?" He answered, "Not as Astyages has commanded; though he should be yet more outrageous and mad than he is, I will not comply with his wishes, nor will I submit to him by performing such a murder: and for many reasons I will not murder the child; both because he is my own relation, and because Astyages is old, and has no male offspring; besides, if, after his death, the sovereignty should devolve on this daughter, whose son he would now murder by my means, what else remains for me but the greatest danger? It is necessary, however, for my safety that the child should die, but as necessary that one of Astyages' people should be the executioner, and not one of mine." 110. Thus he spoke, and immediately sent a messenger for one of Astyages' herdsmen, who he knew grazed his cattle on pastures most convenient for the purpose, and on mountains abounding with wild beasts. His name was Mitradates, and he had married his fellow-servant. The name of the woman to whom he was married, in the language of Greece was *Cyno*, and in that of the Medes *Spaco*, for the Medes call a bitch *Spaca*. The foot of the mountains at which this herdsman grazed his cattle, lies to the north of Ecbatana, towards the Euxine Sea. For the Medic territory on this side towards the Saspies, is very mountainous, lofty, and covered with forests; whereas all the rest of Media is level. When therefore the herdsman, being summoned in great haste, arrived, Harpagus addressed him as follows: "Astyages bids thee take this infant, and expose him on the bleakest part of the mountains, that he may speedily perish; and has charged me to add, that if thou by any means shouldst save the child, thou shalt die by the

most cruel death; and I am appointed to see the child exposed." 111. The herdsman, having heard these words, took the infant, returned back by the same way, and reached his cottage. It so happened that his own wife, whose confinement had been daily expected, was brought to bed whilst he was absent in the city. And each had been in a state of anxiety for the other; he being alarmed about his wife's delivery; and the woman, because Harpagus, who had not been accustomed to do so, had sent for her husband. When he returned and came up to her, she seeing him thus unexpectedly, first asked him why Harpagus had sent for him in such haste. "Wife," said he, "when I reached the city, I saw and heard what I wish I had never seen, nor had ever befallen our masters. The whole house of Harpagus was filled with lamentations; I, greatly alarmed, went in, and as soon as I entered, I saw an infant lying before me, panting and crying, dressed in gold and a robe of various colours. When Harpagus saw me, he ordered me to take up the child directly, and carry him away, and expose him in the part of the mountain most frequented by wild beasts; telling me at the same time, that it was Astyages who imposed this task on me, and threatening the severest punishment if I should fail to do it. I took up the infant and carried him away, supposing him to belong to one of the servants; for I had then no suspicion whence he came; though I was astonished at seeing him dressed in gold and fine apparel; and also at the sorrow which evidently prevailed in the house of Harpagus. But soon after, on my way home, I learnt the whole truth, from a servant who accompanied me out of the city, and delivered the child into my hands; that he was born of Mandane, Astyages' daughter, and of Cambyzes son of Cyrus, and that Astyages had commanded him to be put to death."

112. As the herdsman uttered these last words, he uncovered the child, and showed it to his wife; she seeing that the child was large and of a beautiful form, embraced the knees of her husband, and with tears besought him by no means to expose it. He said that it was impossible to do otherwise; for that spies would come from Harpagus to see the thing done, and he must himself die the most cruel death if he should fail to do it. The woman, finding she could not persuade her husband, again addressed him as follows: "Since,

then, I cannot persuade you not to expose the child, do this at least, if it is absolutely necessary that he should be seen exposed : now I too have been delivered, and delivered of a still-born child, then take this and expose it, and let us bring up the son of Astyages' daughter as our own. Thus you will neither be convicted of having wronged our masters, nor shall we have consulted ill for our own interests ; for the child that is dead will have a royal burial, and the one that survives will not be deprived of life." 113. The herdsman thought his wife spoke very much to the purpose under existing circumstances, and immediately proceeded to act accordingly : the child that he had brought for the purpose of putting to death he delivered to his wife ; his own, which was dead, he put into the basket in which he had brought the other, and having dressed it in all the finery of the other child, he exposed it in the most desolate part of the mountains. On the third day after the infant had been exposed, the herdsman, having left one of his assistants as a guard, went to the city, and arriving at the house of Harpagus, told him he was ready to show the dead body of the infant. Harpagus accordingly sent some of the most trusty of his guards, and by that means saw the body, and buried the herdsman's child. Thus this child was buried. The other, who afterwards had the name of Cyrus, was brought up by the herdsman's wife, who gave him some other name, and not that of Cyrus.

114. When the child attained the age of ten years, a circumstance of the following nature discovered him. He was playing in the village in which the ox-stalls were, with boys of his own age, in the road. The boys who were playing chose this reputed son of the herdsman for their king. But he appointed some of them to build houses, and others to be his body-guards ; one of them to be the king's eye, and to another he gave the office of bringing messages to him, assigning to each his proper duty. Now one of these boys who was playing with him, being son of Artembares, a man of rank among the Medes, refused to obey the orders of Cyrus ; he therefore commanded the others to seize him, and when they obeyed, Cyrus scourged the boy very severely. But the boy, as soon as he was let loose, considering that he had been treated with great indignity, took it very much to heart, and hastening to the city, complained to his father of the treat-

ment he had met with from Cyrus, not indeed saying from Cyrus, (for he was not yet known by that name,) but from the son of Astyages' herdsman. Artembares, in a transport of anger, went immediately to Astyages, and taking his son with him, said that he suffered treatment that was not to be borne, adding, "Thus, O king, are we insulted by your slave, the son of a herdsman;" showing the boy's shoulders.

115. Astyages having heard and seen what was done, resolving, on account of the rank of Artembares, to avenge the indignity offered to the youth, sent for the herdsman and his son. When both came into his presence, Astyages, looking upon Cyrus, said, "Have you, who are the son of such a man as this, dared to treat the son of one of the principal persons in my kingdom with such indignity?" But Cyrus answered, "Sir, I treated him as I did with justice. For the boys of our village, of whom he was one, in their play made me their king, because I appeared to them the most fitted to that office. Now, all the other boys performed what they were ordered, but he alone refused to obey, and paid no attention to my commands; wherefore he was punished: if then on this account I am deserving of punishment, here I am ready to submit to it."

116. As the boy was speaking thus, Astyages recognised who he was; both the character of his face appeared like his own, and his answer more free than accorded with his condition; the time also of the exposure seemed to agree with the age of the boy. Alarmed at this discovery, he was for some time speechless; and at last, having with difficulty recovered himself, (being desirous of sending Artembares away in order that he might examine the herdsman in private,) he said, "Artembares, I will take care that neither you nor your son shall have any cause of complaint." Thus he dismissed Artembares; but the servants, at the command of Astyages, conducted Cyrus into an inner room; and when the herdsman remained alone, he asked him in the absence of witnesses, whence he had the boy, and from whose hands he received him? He affirmed that the boy was his own son, and that the mother who bore him was still living with him. Astyages told him, that he did not consult his own safety in wishing to be put to the torture; and as he said this he made a signal to his guards to seize him. The man, when brought to the torture, discovered the whole matter, and be-

ginning from the outset he went through it, speaking the truth throughout ; and concluded with prayers and entreaties for pardon. 117. Astyages, when the herdsman had confessed the truth, did not concern himself much about him afterwards ; but attaching great blame to Harpagus, he ordered his guards to summon him ; and when Astyages asked, " Harpagus, by what kind of death did you dispose of the child which I delivered to you, born of my daughter ? " Harpagus, seeing the herdsman present, had not recourse to falsehood, lest he should be detected and convicted, but said, " O king, when I had received the infant, I carefully considered how I could act according to your wish and command, and, without offending you, I might be free from the crime of murder both in your daughter's sight and in yours. I therefore acted as follows : having sent for this herdsman I gave him the child, saying that you had commanded him to put it to death ; and in saying this I did not speak falsely, for such indeed were your orders. In this manner I delivered the infant to him, charging him to place it in some desert mountain, and to stay and watch till the child was dead, threatening the severest punishment if he should not fully carry out these injunctions. When he had executed these orders, and the child was dead, I sent some of the most trusty of my eunuchs, and by means of them beheld the body, and buried it. This is the whole truth, O king, and such was the fate of the child."

118. Thus Harpagus told the real truth ; but Astyages, dissembling the anger which he felt on account of what had been done, again related to Harpagus the whole matter as he had heard it from the herdsman ; and afterwards, when he had repeated it throughout, he ended by saying that the child was alive and all was well. " For," he added, " I suffered much on account of what had been done regarding this child, and could not easily bear the reproaches of my daughter ; therefore since fortune has taken a more favourable turn, do you, in the first place, send your own son to accompany the boy I have recovered ; and, in the next place, (for I purpose to offer a sacrifice for the preservation of the child to the gods, to whom that honour is due,) do you be with me at supper."

119. Harpagus, on hearing these words, when he had paid his homage, and had congratulated himself that his fault had turned to so good account, and that he was invited to

the feast under such auspicious circumstances, went to his own home. And as soon as he entered he sent his only son, who was about thirteen years of age, and bade him go to Astyages, and do whatever he should command; and then, being full of joy, he told his wife what had happened. But when the son of Harpagus arrived, having slain him and cut him into joints, Astyages roasted some parts of his flesh and boiled others, and having had them well dressed, kept them in readiness. At the appointed hour, when the other guests and Harpagus were come, tables full of mutton were placed before the rest and Astyages himself, but before Harpagus all the body of his son, except the head, the hands, and the feet; these were laid apart in a basket covered over. When Harpagus seemed to have eaten enough, Astyages asked him if he was pleased with the entertainment; and when Harpagus replied that he was highly delighted, the officers appointed for the purpose brought him the head of his son covered up with the hands and feet, and standing before Harpagus, they bade him uncover the basket and take what he chose. Harpagus doing as they desired, and uncovering the basket, saw the remains of his son's body, but he expressed no alarm at the sight, and retained his presence of mind; whereupon Astyages asked him if he knew of what animal he had been eating. He said he knew very well, and that whatever a king did was agreeable to him. After he had given this answer he gathered the remains of the flesh and went home, purposing, as I conjecture, to collect all he could and bury it.

120. Astyages thus punished Harpagus; and then considering what he should do with Cyrus, summoned the Magi, who had formerly interpreted his dream. When they were come, Astyages asked them in what way they had interpreted his vision. They gave the same answer as before; and said, that if the boy was still alive, and had not already died, he must of necessity be king. He answered them as follows: "The boy is and still survives, and while living in the country, the boys of the village made him king, and he has already performed all such things as kings really do, for he has appointed guards, door-keepers, messengers, and all other things in like manner; and now I desire to know, to what do these things appear to you to tend." The Magi answered, "If the boy be living, and has already been a king by no settled plan, you may take

courage on his account and make your mind easy, for he will not reign a second time. For some of our predictions terminate in trifling results; and dreams, and things like them, are fulfilled by slight events." To this Astyages replied, "I too, O Magi, am very much of the same opinion, that since the child has been named king, the dream is accomplished, and that the boy is no longer an object of alarm to me; yet consider well, and carefully weigh what will be the safest course for my family and yourselves." The Magi answered, "O king, it is of great importance to us that your empire should be firmly established, for otherwise it is alienated, passing over to this boy, who is a Persian, and we, who are Medes, shall be enslaved by Persians, and held in no account as being foreigners; whereas while you, who are of our own country, are king, we have a share in the government, and enjoy great honours at your hands. Thus, then, we must on every account provide for your safety and that of your government; and now, if we saw any thing to occasion alarm we should tell you of it beforehand; but now, since the dream has issued in a trifling event, we ourselves take courage, and advise you to do the like, and to send the boy out of your sight to his parents in Persia." 121. When, therefore, Astyages heard this he was both delighted, and, having called for Cyrus, said to him, "Child, I have been unjust to you, by reason of a vain dream; but you survive by your own destiny. Now go in happiness to Persia, and I will send an escort to attend you: when you arrive there you will find a father and mother very different from the herdsman Mitrdates and his wife."

122. Astyages, having spoken thus, sent Cyrus away, and, upon his arrival at the house of Cambyzes, his parents received him; and having received him, when they heard who he was they embraced him with the greatest tenderness, having been assured that he had died immediately after his birth; and they inquired of him by what means his life had been preserved. He told them, saying, that before he knew not, but had been very much mistaken; however, that on his road he had heard the whole case; for that till that time he believed he was the son of Astyages' herdsman. He related that he had been brought up by the herdsman's wife; and he went on constantly praising her; and Cyno was the

chief subject of his talk. His parents having taken up this name, (in order that the Persians might suppose that the child was somewhat miraculously preserved for them,) spread about a report, that a bitch had nourished him when exposed : hence this report was propagated. 123. When Cyrus had reached man's estate, and proved the most manly and beloved of his equals in age, Harpagus paid great court to him, sending him presents, from his desire to be avenged on Astyages ; for he did not see that he himself, who was but a private man, could be able to take vengeance on Astyages ; perceiving, therefore, that Cyrus was growing up to be his avenger, he contracted a friendship with him, comparing the sufferings of Cyrus with his own. And before this he had made the following preparations. Seeing Astyages severe in his treatment of the Medes, Harpagus, holding intercourse with the chief persons of the nation, one after another, persuaded them that they ought to place him at their head, and depose Astyages. When he had effected his purpose in this respect, and all was ready, Harpagus, wishing to discover his designs to Cyrus, who resided in Persia, and having no other way left, because the roads were all guarded, contrived the following artifice. Having cunningly contrived a hare, by opening its belly, and tearing off none of the hair, he put a letter, containing what he thought necessary to write, into the body ; and having sewed up the belly of the hare, he gave it with some nets to the most trusty of his servants, dressed as a hunter, and sent him to Persia ; having by word of mouth commanded him to bid Cyrus, as he gave him the hare, to open it with his own hand, and not to suffer any one to be present when he did so. 124. This was accordingly done, and Cyrus having received the hare, opened it ; and finding the letter which was in it, he read it ; and it was to the following purport : " Son of Cambyzes, seeing the gods watch over you, (for otherwise you could never have arrived at your present fortune,) do you now avenge yourself on your murderer Astyages ; for as far as regards his purpose you are long since dead, but by the care of the gods and of me you survive. I suppose you have been long since informed both what was done regarding yourself, and what I suffered at the hands of Astyages, because I did not put you to death, but gave you to the

herdsman. If, then, you will follow my counsel, you shall rule over the whole territory that Astyages now governs. Persuade the Persians to revolt, and invade Media; and whether I or any other illustrious Mede be appointed to command the army opposed to you, every thing will turn out as you wish; for they, on the first onset, having revolted from him, and siding with you, will endeavour to depose him. Since, then, every thing is ready here, do as I advise, and do it quickly."

125. Cyrus, having received this intelligence, began to consider by what measures he could best persuade the Persians to revolt; and after mature consideration, he fixed upon the following as the most proper; and accordingly he put it in practice. Having written such a letter as he thought fit, he called an assembly of the Persians, and then, having opened the letter and read it, he said that Astyages had appointed him general of the Persians: "Now," he continued, "I require you to attend me, every man with a sickle." Cyrus then issued such an order. Now the Persians are divided into many tribes; and some of them Cyrus assembled together, and persuaded to revolt from the Medes; these are they upon whom the rest of the Persians are dependent: the Pasargadæ, the Maraphians, and the Maspians: of these the Pasargadæ are the most noble; among them is the family of the Achæmenidæ, from which the kings of Persia are descended. The rest are as follows: the Panthialæans, the Derusiæans, and the Germanians; these are all husbandmen: the rest are pastoral; Daians, Mardians, Dropicians, and Sagartians. 126. When all were come with their sickles, as had been ordered, Cyrus *selected* a tract of land in Persia, which was overgrown with briars, and about eighteen or twenty stadia square, and directed them to clear it during the day: when the Persians had finished the appointed task, he next told them to come again on the next day, having first washed themselves. In the mean time Cyrus, having collected together all his father's flocks and herds, had them killed and dressed, as purposing to entertain the Persian forces, and he provided wine and bread in abundance. The next day, when the Persians were assembled, he made them lie down on the turf, and feasted them; and after the repast was over, Cyrus asked them whether the treatment they had received

the day before, or the present, were preferable. They answered, that the difference was great; for on the preceding day they had every hardship, but on the present every thing that was good. Cyrus therefore having received this answer, discovered his intentions, and said, "Men of Persia, the case stands thus; if you will hearken to me, you may enjoy these, and numberless other advantages, without any kind of servile labour; but if you will not hearken to me, innumerable hardships, like those of yesterday, await you. Now, therefore, obey me, and be free; for I am persuaded I am born by divine providence to undertake this work; and I deem you to be men in no way inferior to the Medes, either in other respects or in war: since then these things are so, revolt with all speed from Astyages."

127. The Persians then having obtained a leader, gladly asserted their freedom, having for a long time felt indignant at being governed by the Medes. Astyages, being informed of what Cyrus was doing, sent a messenger and summoned him; but Cyrus bade the messenger take back word, "that he would come to him sooner than Astyages desired." When Astyages heard this, he armed all the Medes; and, as if the gods had deprived him of understanding, made Harpagus their general, utterly forgetting the outrage he had done him. And when the Medes came to an engagement with the Persians, such of them as knew nothing of the plot, fought; but others went over to the Persians; and the far greater part purposely behaved as cowards and fled. 128. The army of the Medes being thus shamefully dispersed, as soon as the news was brought to Astyages, he exclaimed, threatening Cyrus, "Not even so shall Cyrus have occasion to rejoice." Having so said, he first impaled the Magi, who had interpreted his dream, and advised him to let Cyrus go; then he armed all the Medes that were left in the city, both old and young; and leading them out, he engaged the Persians, and was defeated. Astyages himself was made prisoner, and he lost all the Medes whom he had led out. 129. Harpagus, standing by Astyages after he was taken, exulted over him and jeered him; and among other galling words, he asked him also about the supper, at which he had feasted him with his son's flesh, and inquired, "how he liked slavery in exchange for a kingdom." Astyages, looking stedfastly on Harpagus, asked in return, whether he

thought himself the author of Cyrus's success. Harpagus said, he did, for, as he had written, the achievement was justly due to himself. Astyages thereupon proved him to be "the weakest and most unjust of all men: the weakest, in giving the kingdom to another, which he might have assumed to himself, if indeed he had effected this change; and the most unjust, because he had enslaved the Medes on account of the supper. For if it were absolutely necessary to transfer the kingdom to some one else, and not to take it himself, he might with more justice have conferred this benefit on some one of the Medes than on a Persian: whereas now the Medes, who were not at all in fault, had become slaves instead of masters; and the Persians, who before were slaves to the Medes, had now become their masters."

130. So Astyages, after he had reigned thirty-five years, was thus deposed; and by reason of his cruelty the Medes bent under the Persian yoke, after they had ruled over all Asia beyond the river Halys for the space of one hundred and twenty-eight years,⁷ excepting the interval of the Scythian dominion. At a later period, however, they repented of what they had done, and revolted from Darius, but being conquered in battle, were again subdued: but now in the time of Astyages, the Persians, under the conduct of Cyrus, having risen against the Medes, have from that time been masters of Asia. As for Astyages, Cyrus kept him with him till he died, without doing him any further injury. Cyrus therefore, having been thus born and educated, came to the throne; and after these events he conquered Cræsus, who gave the first provocation, as I have already related, and having subdued him, he became master of all Asia.

131. The Persians, according to my own knowledge, observe the following customs. It is not their practice to erect statues, or temples, or altars, but they charge those with folly

⁷ According to Herodotus, Deioces reigned 53 years

Phraortes . . . 22

Cyaxares . . . 40

Astyages . . . 35

150

If from this number we subtract 28, the time that the Scythians reigned, there remain but 122; so that in all probability a mistake has been made in the text by some copyist.—*Larcher*.

who do so; because, as I conjecture, they do not think the gods have human forms, as the Greeks do. They are accustomed to ascend the highest parts of the mountains, and offer sacrifice to Jupiter, and they call the whole circle of the heavens by the name of Jupiter. They sacrifice to the sun and moon, to the earth, fire, water, and the winds. To these alone they have sacrificed from the earliest times: but they have since learnt from the Arabians and Assyrians to sacrifice to Venus Urania, whom the Assyrians call Venus Mylitta, the Arabians, Alitta, and the Persians, Mitra. 132. The following is the established mode of sacrifice to the above-mentioned deities: they do not erect altars nor kindle fires when about to sacrifice; they do not use libations, or flutes, or fillets, or cakes; but, when any one wishes to offer sacrifice to any one of these deities, he leads the victim to a clean spot, and invokes the god, usually having his tiara decked with myrtle. He that sacrifices is not permitted to pray for blessings for himself alone; but he is obliged to offer prayers for the prosperity of all the Persians, and the king, for he is himself included in the Persians. When he has cut the victim into small pieces, and boiled the flesh, he strews under it a bed of tender grass, generally trefoil, and then lays all the flesh upon it: when he has put every thing in order, one of the Magi standing by sings an ode concerning the original of the gods, which they say is the incantation; and without one of the Magi it is not lawful for them to sacrifice. After having waited a short time, he that has sacrificed carries away the flesh and disposes of it as he thinks fit. 133. It is their custom to honour their birth-day above all other days; and on this day they furnish their table in a more plentiful manner than at other times. The rich then produce an ox, a horse, a camel, and an ass, roasted whole in an oven; but the poor produce smaller cattle. They are moderate at their meals, but eat of many after dishes, and those not served up together. On this account the Persians say, "that the Greeks rise hungry from table, because nothing worth mentioning is brought in after dinner, and that if any thing were brought in, they would not leave off eating." The Persians are much addicted to wine; they are not allowed to vomit or make water in presence of another. These customs are observed to this day. They are used to debate the most

important affairs when intoxicated ; but whatever they have determined on in such deliberations, is on the following day, when they are sober, proposed to them by the master of the house where they have met to consult ; and if they approve of it when sober also, then they adopt it ; if not, they reject it. And whatever they have first resolved on when sober, they reconsider when intoxicated. 134. When they meet one another in the streets, one may discover by the following custom, whether those who meet are equals. For instead of accosting one another, they kiss on the mouth ; if one be a little inferior to the other, they kiss the cheek ; but if he be of a much lower rank, he prostrates himself before the other. They honour, above all, those who live nearest to themselves ; in the second degree, those that are second in nearness ; and after that, as they go further off, they honour in proportion ; and least of all they honour those who live at the greatest distance ; esteeming themselves to be by far the most excellent of men in every respect ; and that others make approaches to excellence according to the foregoing gradations, but that they are the worst who live farthest from them. During the empire of the Medes, each nation ruled over its next neighbour, the Medes over all, and especially over those that were nearest to them ; these again, over the bordering people, and the last in like manner over their next neighbours ; and in the same gradations the Persians honour ; for that nation went on extending its government and guardianship. 135. The Persians are of all nations most ready to adopt foreign customs ; for they wear the Medic costume, thinking it handsomer than their own ; and in war they use the Egyptian cuirass. And they practise all kinds of indulgences with which they become acquainted ; amongst others, they have learnt from the Greeks a passion for boys : they marry, each of them, many wives ; and keep a still greater number of concubines. 136. Next to bravery in battle, this is considered the greatest proof of manliness, to be able to exhibit many children ; and to such as can exhibit the greatest number, the king sends presents every year ; for numbers are considered strength. Beginning from the age of five years to twenty, they instruct their sons in three things only ; to ride, to use the bow, and to speak truth. Before he is five years

of age, a son is not admitted to the presence of his father, but lives entirely with the women : the reason of this custom is, that if he should die in childhood, he may occasion no grief to his father.

137. Now I much approve of the above custom, as also of the following, that not even the king is allowed to put any one to death for a single crime, nor any private Persian exercise extreme severity against any of his domestics for one fault, but if on examination he should find that his misdeeds are more numerous and greater than his services, he may in that case give vent to his anger. They say that no one ever yet killed his own father or mother, but whenever such things have happened they affirm, that if the matter were thoroughly searched into, they would be found to have been committed by supposititious children or those born in adultery, for they hold it utterly improbable that a true father should be murdered by his own son. 138. They are not allowed even to mention the things which it is not lawful for them to do. To tell a lie is considered by them the greatest disgrace ; next to that, to be in debt ; and this for many other reasons, but especially because they think that one who is in debt must of necessity tell lies. Whosoever of the citizens has the leprosy or scrofula, is not permitted to stay within a town, nor to have communication with other Persians ; and they say that from having committed some offence against the sun a man is afflicted with these diseases. Every stranger that is seized with these distempers many of them even drive out of the country ; and they do the same to white pigeons, making the same charge against them. They neither make water, nor spit, nor wash their hands in a river, nor defile the stream with urine, nor do they allow any one else to do so, but they pay extreme veneration to all rivers. 139. Another circumstance is also peculiar to them, which has escaped the notice of the Persians themselves, but not of us. Their names, which correspond with their personal forms and their rank, all terminate in the same letter which the Dorians call *San*, and the Ionians *Sigma*. And if you inquire into this you will find, that all Persian names, without exception, end in the same letter. 140. These things I can with certainty affirm to be true, since I myself know them. But what follows, relating to the dead, is only secretly mentioned and not openly ; viz. that the dead body of a Persian is

never buried until it has been torn by some bird or dog ; but I know for a certainty that the Magi do this, for they do it openly. The Persians then, having covered the body with wax, conceal it in the ground. The Magi differ very much from all other men, and particularly from the Egyptian priests, for the latter hold it matter of religion not to kill any thing that has life, except such things as they offer in sacrifice ; whereas the Magi kill every thing with their own hands, except a dog or a man ; and they think they do a meritorious thing, when they kill ants, serpents, and other reptiles and birds. And with regard to this custom, let it remain as it existed from the first. I will now return to my former subject.

141. The Ionians and Æolians, as soon as the Lydians were subdued by the Persians, sent ambassadors to Cyrus at Sardis, wishing to become subject to him, on the same terms as they had been to Cræsus. But he, when he heard their proposal, told them this story : “ A piper seeing some fishes in the sea, began to pipe, expecting that they would come to shore ; but finding his hopes disappointed, he took a casting-net, and enclosed a great number of fishes, and drew them out. When he saw them leaping about, he said to the fishes, ‘ Cease your dancing, since when I piped you would not come out and dance.’ ” Cyrus told this story to the Ionians and Æolians, because the Ionians, when Cyrus pressed them by his ambassador to revolt from Cræsus, refused to consent, and now, when the business was done, were ready to listen to him. He, therefore, under the influence of anger, gave them this answer. But the Ionians, when they heard this message brought back to their cities, severally fortified themselves with walls, and met together at the Panionium, with the exception of the Milesians ; for Cyrus made an alliance with them only, on the same terms as the Lydians had done. The rest of the Ionians resolved unanimously to send ambassadors to Sparta, to implore them to succour the Ionians. 142. These Ionians, to whom the Panionium belongs, have built their cities under the finest sky and climate of the world that we know of ; for neither the regions that are above it, nor those that are below, nor the parts to the east or west, are at all equal to Ionia ; for some of them are oppressed by cold and rain, others by heat and drought. These Ionians do not all use the same language, but have four varieties of dialect. Miletus, the first

of them, lies towards the south ; next are Myus and Priene : these are situate in Caria, and use the same dialect. The following are in Lydia ; Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa : these cities do not at all agree with those before mentioned in their language, but they speak a dialect common to themselves. There are three remaining of the Ionian cities, of which two inhabit islands, Samos and Chios ; and one, Erythræ, is situated on the continent. Now the Chians and Erythræans use the same dialect, but the Samians have one peculiar to themselves. And these are the four different forms of language.

143. Of these Ionians, the Milesians were sheltered from danger, as they had made an alliance. The islanders also had nothing to fear ; for the Phœnicians were not yet subject to the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves at all acquainted with maritime affairs. Now the Milesians had seceded from the rest of the Ionians only for this reason, that weak as the Grecian race then was, the Ionian was weakest of all, and of least account ; for except Athens, there was no other city of note. The other Ionians, therefore, and the Athenians shunned the name, and would not be called Ionians ; and even now many of them appear to me to be ashamed of the name. But these twelve cities gloried in the name, and built a temple for their own use, to which they gave the name of Panionium ; and they resolved not to communicate privileges to any other of the Ionians ; nor indeed have any others, except the Smyrnæans, desired to participate in them. 144. In the same manner, the Dorians of the present Pentapolis, which was before called Hexapolis, take care not to admit any of the neighbouring Dorians into the temple at Triopium, but excluded from participation such of their own community as have violated the sacred laws. For in the games in honour of Triopian Apollo, they formerly gave brazen tripods to the victors ; and it was usual for those who gained them not to carry them out of the temple, but to dedicate them there to the god : however, a man of Halicarnassus, whose name was Agasicles, having won the prize, disregarded their custom, and carrying away the tripod hung it up in his own house ; for this offence, the five cities, Lindus, Ialysus, Cameirus, Cos, and Cnidus, excluded the sixth city, Halicarnassus, from participation ; on them, therefore, they imposed

this punishment. 145. The Ionians appear to me to have formed themselves into twelve cities, and to have refused to admit more, for the following reason, because when they dwelt in Peloponnesus there were twelve divisions of them, as now there are twelve divisions of the Achæans, who drove out the Ionians. Pellene is the first towards Sicyon; next Ægyra and Æge, in which is the ever-flowing river Crathis, from which the river in Italy derived its name; then Bura and Helice, to which the Ionians fled when they were defeated by the Achæans; Ægium, Rhypes, Patrees, Pharees, and Olenus, in which is the great river Pirus; lastly Dyma and Tritæes, the only inland places among them. 146. These now are the twelve divisions of the Achæans, which formerly belonged to the Ionians; and on that account the Ionians erected twelve cities. For to say that these are more properly Ionians, or of more noble origin than other Ionians, would be great folly; since the Abantes from Eubœa, who had no connexion even in name with Ionia, are no inconsiderable part of this colony; and Minyan-Orchomenians are intermixed with them, and Cadmæans, Dryopians, Phocians, (who separated themselves from the rest of their countrymen,) and Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, Dorian Epidaurians, and many other people, are intermixed with them; and those of them who set out from the Prytaneum of Athens, and who deem themselves the most noble of the Ionians, brought no wives with them when they came to settle in this country, but seized a number of Carian women, after they had killed their men: and on account of this massacre these women established a law and imposed on themselves an oath, and transmitted it to their daughters, that they would never eat with their husbands, nor ever call them by the name of husband; because they had killed their fathers, their husbands, and their children, and then after so doing had forced them to become their wives. This was done in Miletus. 147. The Ionians appointed kings to govern them; some choosing Lycians, of the posterity of Glaucus son of Hippolochus; others Cauconian Pylians, descended from Codrus son of Melanthus; others again from both those families. However, they are more attached to the name of Ionians than any others; let it be allowed then that they are genuine Ionians: still, all are Ionians, who derive their original from Athens, and celebrate the Apaturian

festival ; but all do so except the Ephesians and Colophonians ; for these alone do not celebrate the Apaturian festival, on some pretext of a murder. 148. The Panionium is a sacred place in Mycale, looking to the north, and by the Ionians consecrated in common to Heliconian Neptune ; and Mycale is a headland on the continent, stretching westward towards Samos. At this place the Ionians, assembling from the various cities, were accustomed to celebrate the festival to which they gave the name of Panionia ; and not only do the festivals of the Ionians, but all the festivals of all the Greeks terminate, like the Persian names,⁸ in the same letter. These then are the Ionian cities.

149. The following are the Æolian ; Cyme, called also Phriconis, Larissæ, Neon-teichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Ægææ, Myrina, and Grynia : these are eleven of the ancient cities of the Æolians ; for one of them, Smyrna, was taken away from them by the Ionians ; for they too had twelve cities on the continent. These Æolians have settled in a more fertile country than the Ionians, but not equal in climate. 150. The Æolians lost Smyrna in the following manner. They received into their city certain Colophonians, who were unsuccessful in a sedition and driven from their country. But some time after, the Colophonian exiles, having watched the opportunity while the Smyrnæans were celebrating a festival to Bacchus outside the walls, shut to the gates, and seized the city. But when all the Æolians came to the assistance of the Smyrnæans, an agreement was made, that the Ionians should restore the moveable property, and that the Æolians should abandon Smyrna. When the Smyrnæans did this, the other eleven cities distributed them amongst themselves and gave them the privilege of citizens. 151. These then are the Æolian cities on the continent ; besides those settled on Mount Ida ; for these are altogether distinct. But of those that occupy islands, five cities are situated in Lesbos ; for the sixth in Lesbos, Arisba, the Methymnæans reduced to slavery, although they were of kindred blood ; one city is situated in Tenedos ; and another in what are called the Hundred Islands. Accordingly the Lesbians and Tenedians, as well as the Ionians of the Islands, had nothing to fear ; but

⁸ See ch. 130.

all the other cities resolved with one accord to follow the Ionians, wherever they should lead the way.

152. When the ambassadors of the Ionians and Æolians arrived at Sparta, (for this was done with all possible speed,) they made choice of a Phocæan, whose name was Pythermus, to speak in behalf of all ; he then, having put on a purple robe, in order that as many as possible of the Spartans might hear of it and assemble, and having stood forward, addressed them at length, imploring their assistance. But the Lacedæmonians would not listen to him, and determined not to assist the Ionians : they therefore returned home. Nevertheless the Lacedæmonians, though they had rejected the Ionian ambassadors, despatched men in a penteconter, as I conjecture, to keep an eye upon the affairs of Cyrus and Ionia. These men arriving in Phocæa, sent the most eminent person among them, whose name was Lacrines, to Sardis, to warn Cyrus in the name of the Lacedæmonians, "not to injure any city on the Grecian territory, for in that case they would not pass it by unnoticed." 153. When the herald gave this message, it is related that Cyrus inquired of the Grecians who were present, who the Lacedæmonians were, and how many in number, that they sent him such a warning. And when informed, he said to the Spartan herald, "I was never yet afraid of those, who in the midst of their city have a place set apart, in which they collect and cheat one another by false oaths ; and if I continue in health, not the calamities of the Ionians shall be talked about, but their own." This taunt of Cyrus was levelled at the Grecians in general, who have markets for the purposes of buying and selling ; for the Persians themselves are not accustomed to use markets, nor have they such a thing as a market. After this, Cyrus, having intrusted Tabalus a Persian with the government of Sardis, and appointed Pactyas a Lydian to bring away the gold, both that belonging to Cræsus and to the other Lydians, took Cræsus with him, and departed for Ecbatana, for from the first he took no account of the Ionians. But Babylon was an obstacle to him, as were also the Bactrians, the Sacæ, and the Egyptians ; against whom he resolved to lead an army in person, and to send some other general against the Ionians. 154. But as soon as Cyrus had marched from Sardis, Pactyas prevailed on the Lydians to revolt from Tabalus and Cyrus ; and going down to the sea-coast, with all

the gold taken from Sardis in his possession, he hired mercenaries and persuaded the inhabitants of the coast to join him ; and then having marched against Sardis, he besieged Tabalus, who was shut up in the citadel.

155. When Cyrus heard this news on his march, he said to Cræsus ; “ Cræsus, what will be the end of these things ? the Lydians, it seems, will never cease to give trouble to me, and to themselves. I am in doubt whether it will not be better to reduce them to slavery ; for I appear to have acted like one who, having killed the father, has spared the children ; so I am carrying away you, who have been something more than a father to the Lydians, and have intrusted their city to the Lydians themselves : and then I wonder at their rebellion ! ” Now he said what he had in contemplation to do : but Cræsus, fearing lest he should utterly destroy Sardis, answered, “ Sir, you have but too much reason for what you say ; yet do not give full vent to your anger, nor utterly destroy an ancient city, which is innocent as well of the former as of the present offence : for of the former I myself was guilty, and now bear the punishment on my own head ; but in the present instance Pactyas, to whom you intrusted Sardis, is the culprit ; let him therefore pay the penalty. But pardon the Lydians, and enjoin them to observe the following regulations, to the end that they may never more revolt, nor be troublesome to you : send to them and order them to keep no weapons of war in their possession ; and enjoin them to wear tunics under their cloaks, and buskins on their feet ; and require them to teach their sons to play on the cithara, to strike the guitar, and to sell by retail ; and then you will soon see them becoming women instead of men, so that they will never give you any apprehensions about their revolting.” 156. Cræsus suggested this plan, thinking it would be more desirable for the Lydians, than that they should be sold for slaves ; and being persuaded, that unless he could suggest some feasible proposal, he should not prevail with him to alter his resolution : and he dreaded also, lest the Lydians, if they should escape the present danger, might hereafter revolt from the Persians, and bring utter ruin on themselves. Cyrus, pleased with the expedient, laid aside his anger, and said that he would follow his advice : then having sent for Mazares, a Mede, he commanded him to order the Lydians to conform themselves to the regulations proposed by

Cræsus, and moreover to enslave all the rest who had joined the Lydians in the attack on Sardis ; but by all means to bring Pactyas to him alive. 157. Cyrus then having given these orders on his way, proceeded to the settlements of the Persians. But Pactyas hearing that the army which was coming against him was close at hand, fled in great consternation to Cyme ; and Mazares the Mede having marched against Sardis with an inconsiderable division of Cyrus's army, when he found that Pactyas and his party were no longer there, in the first place compelled the Lydians to conform to the injunctions of Cyrus ; and by his order the Lydians completely changed their mode of life : after this Mazares despatched messengers to Cyme, requiring them to deliver up Pactyas. But the Cymæans, in order to come to a decision, resolved to refer the matter to the deity at Branchidæ, for there was there an oracular shrine, erected in former times, which all the Ionians and Æolians were in the practice of consulting ; this place is situated in Milesia, above the port of Panormus.⁹ 158. The Cymæans therefore, having sent persons to consult the oracle at Branchidæ, asked "what course they should pursue respecting Pactyas, that would be most pleasing to the gods : " the answer to their question was, that they should deliver up Pactyas to the Persians. When the Cymæans heard this answer reported, they determined to give him up ; but though most of them came to this determination, Aristodicus the son of Heracles, a man of high repute among the citizens, distrusting the oracle, and suspecting the sincerity of the consulters, prevented them from doing so ; till at last other messengers, among whom was Aristodicus, went to inquire a second time concerning Pactyas. 159. When they arrived at Branchidæ, Aristodicus consulted the oracle in the name of all, inquiring in these words : " O king, Pactyas, a Lydian, has come to us as a suppliant, to avoid a violent death at the hands of the Persians. They now demand him, and require the Cymæans to give him up. We, however, though we dread the Persian power, have not yet dared to surrender the suppliant, till it be plainly declared by thee what we ought to do." Such was the inquiry of Aristodicus ; but the oracle gave the same answer as before,

⁹ It will be proper to remark, that there were two places of that name ; and that this must not be confounded with the port of Panormus, in the vicinity of Ephesus. *Beloe.*

and bade them surrender Pactyas to the Persians. Upon this Aristodicus deliberately acted as follows ; walking round the temple, he took away the sparrows and all other kinds of birds that had built nests in the temple ; and while he was doing this, it is reported, that a voice issued from the sanctuary, and addressing Aristodicus, spoke as follows : “ O most impious of men, how darest thou do this ? Dost thou tear my suppliants from my temple ? ” Aristodicus without hesitation answered, “ O king, art thou then so careful to succour thy suppliants, but biddest the Cymæans to deliver up theirs ? ” The oracle again rejoined : “ Yes, I bid you do so ; that having acted impiously, ye may the sooner perish, and never more come and consult the oracle about the delivering up of suppliants.” 160. When the Cymæans heard this last answer, they, not wishing to bring destruction on themselves by surrendering Pactyas, or to subject themselves to a siege by protecting him, sent him away to Mitylene. But the Mitylenæans, when Mazares sent a message to them requiring them to deliver up Pactyas, were preparing to do so for some remuneration ; what, I am unable to say precisely, for the proposal was never completed. For the Cymæans, being informed of what was being done by the Mitylenæans, despatched a vessel to Lesbos, and transported Pactyas to Chios, whence he was torn by violence from the temple of Minerva Poliuchus by the Chians, and delivered up. The Chians delivered him up in exchange for Atarneus ; this Atarneus was a place situate in Mysia, opposite Lesbos. In this manner Pactyas fell into the hands of the Persians ; therefore having got possession of Pactyas, they kept him under guard in order that they might deliver him up to Cyrus. And for a long time after this, none of the Chians would offer barley-meal from Atarneus to any of the gods, or make any cakes of the fruit that came from thence ; but all the productions of that country were excluded from the temples. Thus the Chians gave up Pactyas. 161. Mazares, after this, marched against those who had assisted in besieging Tabalus ; and in the first place he reduced the Prieniens to slavery, and in the next overran the whole plain of the Mæander, and gave it to his army to pillage ; and he treated Magnesia in the same manner : and shortly afterwards he fell sick and died.

162. On his death Harpagus came down as his successor in the command ; he also was by birth a Mede, the same whom

Astyages king of the Medes entertained at an impious feast, and who assisted Cyrus in ascending the throne. This man being appointed general by Cyrus, on his arrival in Ionia, took several cities by means of earthworks; for he forced the people to retire within their fortifications, and then, having heaped up mounds against the walls, he carried the cities by storm. Phocæa was the first place in Ionia that he attacked.

163. These Phocæans were the first of all the Grecians who undertook long voyages, and they are the people who discovered the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas, and Iberia, and Tartessus.¹ They made their voyages in fifty-oared galleys, and not in merchant-ships.² When they arrived at Tartessus they were kindly received by the king of the Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he reigned eighty years over Tartessus, and lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. The Phocæans became such great favourites with him, that he at first solicited them to abandon Ionia, and to settle in any part of his territory they should choose; but afterwards, finding he could not prevail with the Phocæans to accept his offer, and hearing from them the increasing power of the Mede, he gave them money for the purpose of building a wall round their city; and he gave it unsparingly, for the wall is not a few stades in circumference, and is entirely built of large and well-compacted stone. 164. Now the wall of the Phocæans had been built in the above manner; but when Harpagus marched his army against them, he besieged them, having first offered terms: "that he would be content if the Phocæans would throw down only one of their battlements, and consecrate one house *to the king's use.*" The Phocæans, detesting slavery, said, "that they wished for one day to deliberate, and would then give their answer;" but while they were deliberating they required him to draw off his forces from the wall. Harpagus said, that "though he well knew their design, yet he would permit them to consult together." In the interval, then, during which Harpagus withdrew his army from the wall, the Phocæans launched their fifty-oared galleys, and having put their wives, children, and goods on board, together with the images from the temples, and other offerings, except works of

¹ Tartessus was situated between the two branches of the Bœtis, (now Guadalquivir,) through which it discharges itself into the sea.

² See Note ⁵, B. I. c. 2.

brass or stone, or pictures,—*with these exceptions*, having put every thing on board, and embarked themselves, they set sail for Chios: and the Persians took possession of Phocæa, abandoned by all its inhabitants. 165. The Phocæans, when the Chians refused to sell them the Cænysæ islands, for fear they should become the seat of trade, and their own island be thereby excluded, thereupon directed their course to Cynus; where, by the admonition of an oracle, they had twenty years before built a city, named Alalia. But Arganthonius was at that time dead. On their passage to Cynus, having first sailed down to Phocæa, they put to death the Persian garrison which had been left by Harpagus to guard the city. Afterwards, when this was accomplished, they pronounced terrible imprecations on any who should desert the fleet: besides this, they sunk a mass of red-hot iron, and swore “that they would never return to Phocæa, till this burning mass should appear again.” Nevertheless, as they were on their way towards Cynus, more than one half of the citizens were seized with regret and yearning for their city and dwellings in the country, and violating their oaths, sailed back to Phocæa; but such of them as kept to their oath, weighed anchor and sailed from the Cænysæ islands. 166. On their arrival at Cynus they lived for five years in common with the former settlers: but as they ravaged the territories of all their neighbours, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians combined together to make war against them, each with sixty ships: and the Phocæans, on their part, having manned their ships, consisting of sixty in number, met them in the Sardinian Sea; and having engaged, the Phocæans obtained a kind of Cadmean victory;³ for forty of their own ships were destroyed, and the twenty that survived were disabled, for their prows were blunted. They therefore sailed back to Alalia, and took on board their wives and children, with what property their ships were able to carry, and leaving Cynus, sailed to Rhegium. 167. As to the men belonging to the ships destroyed, most of them fell into the hands⁴ of the

³ A proverbial expression, importing, “that the victors suffered more than the vanquished.”

⁴ I have ventured to depart from the usual rendering of this passage, even though it has the sanction of Baehr. It is commonly inferred from the use of the word *ἐλαχόν*, that the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians “divided their prisoners by lot.” That word appears to me, however, only to mean that “they *happened* to take them,”—“it was their *lot* to

Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, who took them on shore, and stoned them to death. But afterwards all animals belonging to the Agyllæans that passed by the spot where the Phocæans who had been stoned lay, became distorted, maimed, and crippled, as well sheep, as beasts of burden, and men. The Agyllæans therefore, being anxious to expiate the guilt, sent to Delphi; and the Pythia enjoined them to use those rites which the Agyllæans still observe; for they commemorate their death with great magnificence, and have established gymnastic and equestrian contests. This was the fate of these Phocæans; but the others who fled to Rhegium, left that place, and got possession of that town in the territory of CEnotria, which is now called Hyela, and they colonized this town by the advice of a certain Posidonian, who told them the Pythia had directed them to establish sacred rites to Cyrnus as being a hero, but not to colonize the island of that name.

168. The Teians also acted nearly in the same manner as the Phocæans. For when Harpagus by means of his earth-works had made himself master of their walls, they all went on board their ships, and sailed away to Thrace, and there settled in the city of Abdera; which Timesius of Clazomenæ having formerly founded, did not enjoy, but was driven out by the Thracians, and is now honoured as a hero by the Teians of Abdera.

169. These were the only Ionians who abandoned their country rather than submit to servitude. The rest, except the Milesians, gave battle to Harpagus, and as well as those who abandoned their country, proved themselves brave men, each fighting for his own; but being defeated and subdued, they severally remained in their own countries, and submitted to the commands imposed on them. But the Milesians, as I have before mentioned,⁵ having made a league with Cyrus, remained quiet. Thus then was Ionia a second time enslaved; ⁶ and when Harpagus had subdued the Ionians on the continent, those that occupied the islands, dreading the same fate, made their submission to Cyrus. 170. When the Ionians were

take them." Indeed I believe that wherever Herodotus speaks of an actual casting of lots, he always adds some word that expresses the action or method of allotting, as κλήρω λαχόντα, iii. 83; παλλομένων δὲ λαγχάνει, iii. 128; τὸν πάλω λαχόντα, iv. 94, and 153.

⁵ Ch. 143.

⁶ See ch. 6 and 28.

brought to this wretched condition, and nevertheless still held assemblies at Panionium, I am informed that Bias of Priene gave them most salutary advice, which, if they had hearkened to him, would have made them the most flourishing of all the Grecians. He advised, "that the Ionians, having weighed anchor, should sail in one common fleet to Sardinia, and then build one city for all the Ionians; thus being freed from servitude, they would flourish, inhabiting the most considerable of the islands, and governing the rest; whereas if they remained in Ionia, he saw no hope of recovering their liberty." This was the advice of Bias the Prienean, after the Ionians were ruined. But before Ionia was ruined, the advice of Thales the Milesian, who was of Phœnician extraction, was also good. He advised the Ionians to constitute one general council in Teos, which stands in the centre of Ionia; and that the rest of the inhabited cities should nevertheless be governed as independent states. Such was the advice they severally gave.

171. Harpāgus having subdued Ionia, marched against the Carians, Caunians, Lycians, Ionians, and Æolians. Of these the Carians had come from the islands to the continent. For being subjects of Minos, and anciently called Leleges, they occupied the islands without paying any tribute, as far as I am able to discover by inquiring into the remotest times, but, whenever he required them, they manned his ships; and as Minos subdued a large territory, and was successful in war, the Carians were by far the most famous of all nations in those times. They also introduced three inventions which the Greeks have adopted. For the Carians set the example of fastening crests upon helmets, and of putting devices on shields; they are also the first who put handles to shields; but until their time all who used shields carried them without handles, guiding them with leathern thongs, having them slung round their necks and left shoulders. After a long time had elapsed, the Dorians and Ionians drove the Carians out of the islands, and so they came to the continent. This then is the account that the Cretans give of the Carians: the Carians themselves however do not admit its correctness; but consider themselves to be aboriginal inhabitants of the continent, and always to have gone under the same name as they now do. And in testimony of this, they show an ancient temple of Jupiter Carius at Mylasa, which the Mysians and Lydians share, as

kinsmen to the Carians, for they say that Lydus and Mysus were brothers to Car. Now they do share the temple, but none who are of a different nation, though of the same language with the Carians, are allowed to share it. 172. The Caunians, in my opinion, are aboriginals, though they say they are from Crete. However, they have assimilated their language to that of the Carians, or the Carians to theirs ; for this I cannot determine with certainty. Their customs are totally distinct from those of other nations, even from the Carians ; for they account it very becoming for men, women, and boys, to meet together to drink according to their age and intimacy. They had formerly erected temples to foreign deities, but afterwards, when they changed their minds, (for they resolved to have none but their own national deities,) all the Caunians armed themselves, both young and old, and beating the air with their spears, marched in a body to the Calindian confines, and said they were expelling strange gods. They then have such customs. 173. The Lycians were originally sprung from Crete, for in ancient time Crete was entirely in the possession of barbarians. But a dispute having arisen between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europa, respecting the sovereign power, when Minos got the upper hand in the struggle, he drove out Sarpedon with his partisans ; and they being expelled came to the land of Milyas in Asia : for the country which the Lycians now occupy was anciently called Milyas ; but the Milyans were then called Solymi. So long as Sarpedon reigned over them, they went by the name of Termilæ, which they brought with them, and the Lycians are still called by that name by their neighbours. But when Lycus son of Pandion, who was likewise driven out by his brother Ægeus, came from Athens, the Termilæ under Sarpedon, in course of time, got to be called Lycians after him. Their customs are partly Cretan and partly Carian ; but they have one peculiar to themselves, in which they differ from all other nations ; for they take their name from their mothers and not from their fathers ; so that if any one ask another who he is, he will describe himself by his mother's side, and reckon up his maternal ancestry in the female line. And if a free-born woman marry a slave, the children are accounted of pure birth ; but if a man who is a citizen, even though of high rank, marry a

foreigner or cohabit with a concubine, the children are infamous.

174. Now the Carians were subdued by Harpagus, without having done any memorable action in their own defence : and not only the Carians, but all the Grecians that inhabit those parts, behaved themselves with as little courage. And among others settled there, are the Cnidians, colonists from the Lacedæmonians, whose territory juts on the sea, and is called the Triopean : but the region of Bybassus commenced from the peninsula, for all Cnidia, except a small space, is surrounded by water ; (for the Ceramic gulf bounds it on the north, and on the south the sea by Syme and Rhodes : now this small space, which is about five stades in breadth, the Cnidians, wishing to make their territory insular, designed to dig through, while Harpagus was subduing Ionia. For the whole of their dominions were within the isthmus ; and where the Cnidian territory terminates towards the continent, there is the isthmus that they designed to dig through. But as they were carrying on the work with great diligence, the workmen appeared to be wounded to a greater extent and in a more strange manner than usual, both in other parts of the body, and particularly in the eyes, by the chipping of the rock ; they therefore sent deputies to Delphi to inquire what was the cause of the obstruction ; and, as the Cnidians say, the Pythia answered as follows in trimeter verse : “ Build not a tower on the isthmus, nor dig it through, for Jove would have made it an island had he so willed.” When the Pythia had given this answer, the Cnidians desisted from their work, and surrendered without resistance to Harpagus, as soon as he approached with his army. 175. The Pedasians were situate inland above Halicarnassus ; when any mischief is about to befall them or their neighbours, the priestess of Minerva has a long beard : this has three times occurred. Now these were the only people about Caria who opposed Harpagus for any time, and gave him much trouble, by fortifying a mountain called Lyda. 176. After some time, however, the Pedasians were subdued. The Lycians, when Harpagus marched his army towards the Xanthian plain, went out to meet him, and engaging with very inferior numbers, displayed great feats of valour. But being defeated and shut up within their city,

they collected their wives, children, property, and servants within the citadel, and then set fire to it and burnt it to the ground. When they had done this, and engaged themselves by the strongest oaths, all the Xanthians went out and died fighting. Of the modern Lycians, who are said to be Xanthians, all, except eighty families, are strangers; but these eighty families happened at the time to be away from home, and so survived. Thus Harpagus got possession of Xanthus and Caunia almost in the same manner; for the Caunians generally followed the example of the Lycians.

177. Harpagus therefore reduced the lower parts of Asia, but Cyrus conquered the upper parts, subduing every nation without exception. The greatest part of these I shall pass by without notice; but I will make mention of those which gave him most trouble, and are most worthy of being recorded.

178. When Cyrus had reduced all the other parts of the continent, he attacked the Assyrians. Now Assyria contains many large cities, but the most renowned and the strongest, and where the seat of government was established after the destruction of Nineveh, was Babylon, which is of the following description. The city stands in a spacious plain, and is quadrangular, and shows a front on every side of one hundred and twenty stades; these stades make up the sum of four hundred and eighty in the whole circumference. Such is the size of the city of Babylon. It was adorned in a manner surpassing any city we are acquainted with. In the first place, a moat deep, wide, and full of water, runs entirely round it; next, there is a wall fifty royal cubits in breadth, and in height two hundred, but the royal cubit is larger than the common one by three fingers' breadth. 179. And here I think I ought to explain how the earth, taken out of the moat, was consumed, and in what manner the wall was built. As they dug the moat they made bricks of the earth that was taken out; and when they had moulded a sufficient number they baked them in kilns. Then making use of hot asphalt for cement, and laying wattled reeds between the thirty bottom courses of bricks, they first built up the sides of the moat, and afterwards the wall itself in the same manner; and on the top of the wall, at the edges, they built dwellings of one story, fronting each other, and they left a space between these dwellings

sufficient for turning a chariot with four horses. In the circumference of the wall there were a hundred gates, all of brass, as also are the posts and lintels. Eight days' journey from Babylon stands another city, called Is, on a small river of the same name, which discharges its stream into the Euphrates; now, this river brings down with its water many lumps of bitumen; from whence the bitumen used in the wall of Babylon was brought. 180. In this manner Babylon was encompassed with a wall. And the city consists of two divisions, for a river, called the Euphrates, separates it in the middle: this river, which is broad, deep, and rapid, flows from Armenia, and falls into the Red Sea. The wall therefore on either bank has an elbow carried down to the river; from thence along the curvatures of each bank of the river runs a wall of baked bricks. The city itself, which is full of houses three and four stories high, is cut up into straight streets, as well all the other as the transverse ones that lead to the river. At the end of each street a little gate is formed in the wall along the river-side, in number equal to the streets; and they are all made of brass, and lead down to the edge of the river. 181. This outer wall then is the chief defence, but another wall runs round within, not much inferior to the other in strength, though narrower. In the middle of each division of the city fortified buildings were erected; in one, the royal palace, with a spacious and strong enclosure, brazen-gated; and in the other, the precinct of Jupiter Belus, which in my time was still in existence, a square building of two stades on every side. In the midst of this precinct is built a solid tower of one stade both in length and breadth, and on this tower rose another, and another upon that, to the number of eight. And an ascent to these is outside, running spirally round all the towers. About the middle of the ascent there is a landing-place and seats to rest on, on which those who go up sit down and rest themselves; and in the uppermost tower stands a spacious temple, and in this temple is placed, handsomely furnished, a large couch, and by its side a table of gold. No statue has been erected within it, nor does any mortal pass the night there, except only a native woman, chosen by the god out of the whole nation, as the Chaldeans, who are priests of this deity, say. 182. These same priests assert, though I cannot credit what they say, that the god himself

comes to the temple and reclines on the bed, in the same manner as the Egyptians say happens at Thebes in Egypt, for there also a woman lies in the temple of Theban Jupiter, and both are said to have no intercourse with men; in the same manner also the priestess, who utters the oracles at Pataræ in Lycia, when the god is there, for there is not an oracle there at all times, but when there she is shut up during the night in the temple with the god. 183. There is also another temple below, within the precinct at Babylon; in it is a large golden statue of Jupiter seated, and near it is placed a large table of gold, the throne also and the step are of gold, which together weigh eight hundred talents, as the Chaldæans affirm. Outside the temple is a golden altar; and another large altar, where full-grown sheep are sacrificed; for on the golden altar only sucklings may be offered. On the great altar the Chaldæans consume yearly a thousand talents of frankincense when they celebrate the festival of this god. There was also at that time within the precincts of this temple a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high: I indeed did not see it, I only relate what is said by the Chaldæans. Darius, son of Hystaspes, formed a design to take away this statue, but dared not do so; but Xerxes, son of Darius, took it, and killed the priest who forbade him to remove it. Thus, then, this temple was adorned; and besides there are many private offerings.

184. There were many others who reigned over Babylon, whom I shall mention in my Assyrian history, who beautified the walls and temples, and amongst them were two women. The first of these, named Semiramis, lived five generations before the other; she raised mounds along the plain, which are worthy of admiration; for before, the river used to overflow the whole plain like a sea. 185. But the other, who was queen next after her, and whose name was Nitocris, (she was much more sagacious than the queen before her,) in the first place left monuments of herself, which I shall presently describe; and in the next place, when she saw the power of the Medes growing formidable and restless, and that, among other cities, Nineveh was captured by them, she took every possible precaution for her own defence. First of all, with respect to the river Euphrates, which before ran in a straight line, and which flows through the middle of the city, this, by

having channels dug above, she made so winding, that in its course it touches three times at one and the same village in Assyria: the name of this village at which the Euphrates touches, is Arderica: and to this day, those who go from our sea to Babylon, if they travel by the Euphrates, come three times to this village on three successive days. She also raised on either bank of the river a mound, astonishing for its magnitude and height. At a considerable distance above Babylon, she had a reservoir for a lake dug, carrying it out some distance from the river, and in depth digging down to water, and in width making its circumference of four hundred and twenty stades: she consumed the soil from this excavation by heaping it up on the banks of the river, and when it was completely dug, she had stones brought and built a casing to it all round. She had both these works done, the river made winding, and the whole excavation a lake, in order that the current, being broken by frequent turnings, might be more slow, and the navigation to Babylon tedious, and that after the voyage, a long march round the lake might follow. All this was done in that part of the country where the approach to Babylon is nearest, and where is the shortest way for the Medes; in order that the Medes might not, by holding intercourse with her people, become acquainted with her affairs. 186. She enclosed herself, therefore, with these defences by digging, and immediately afterwards made the following addition. As the city consisted of two divisions, which were separated by the river, during the reign of former kings, when any one had occasion to cross from one division to the other, he was obliged to cross in a boat: and this, in my opinion, was very troublesome: she therefore provided for this, for after she had dug the reservoir for the lake, she left this other monument built by similar toil. She had large blocks of stone cut, and when they were ready and the place was completely dug out, she turned the whole stream of the river into the place she had dug: while this was filled, and the ancient channel had become dry, in the first place, she lined with burnt bricks the banks of the river throughout the city, and the descents that lead from the gates to the river, in the same manner as the walls. In the next place, about the middle of the city, she built a bridge with the stones she had prepared, and bound them together with plates of lead and

iron. Upon these stones she laid, during the day, square planks of timber, on which the Babylonians might pass over ; but at night these planks were removed, to prevent people from crossing by night and robbing one another. When the hollow that was dug had become a lake filled by the river, and the bridge was finished, she brought back the river to its ancient channel from the lake. And thus, the excavation having been turned into a marsh, appeared to answer the purpose for which it was made, and a bridge was built for the use of the inhabitants.

187. This same queen also contrived the following deception. Over the most frequented gate of the city she prepared a sepulchre for herself, high up above the gate itself ; and on the sepulchre she had engraved, SHOULD ANY ONE OF MY SUCCESSORS, KINGS OF BABYLON, FIND HIMSELF IN WANT OF MONEY, LET HIM OPEN THIS SEPULCHRE, AND TAKE AS MUCH AS HE CHOOSES ; BUT IF HE BE NOT IN WANT, LET HIM NOT OPEN IT ; FOR THAT WERE NOT WELL. This monument remained undisturbed, until the kingdom fell to Darius ; but it seemed hard to Darius that this gate should be of no use, and that when money was lying there, and this money inviting him to take it, he should not do so ; but no use was made of this gate for this reason, that a dead body was over the head of any one who passed through it. He therefore opened the sepulchre, and instead of money, found only the body, and these words written : HADST THOU NOT BEEN INSATIABLY COVETOUS, AND GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU Wouldest NOT HAVE OPENED THE CHAMBERS OF THE DEAD. Such then is the account given of this queen.

188. Cyrus made war against the son of this queen, who bore the name of his father Labynetus, and had the empire of Assyria. Now when the great king leads his army in person, he carries with him from home provisions well prepared and cattle ; and he takes with him water from the river Choaspes, which flows past Susa, of which alone, and no other, the king drinks. A great number of four-wheeled carriages drawn by mules carry the water of this river, after it has been boiled in silver vessels, and follow him from place to place wherever he marches. 189. When Cyrus, in his march against Babylon, arrived at the river Gyndes, whose fountains are in the Matianian mountains, and which flows through the

land of the Dardanians, and falls into another river, the Tigris ; which latter, flowing by the city of Opis, discharges itself into the Red Sea :—now, when Cyrus was endeavouring to cross this river Gyndes, which can be passed only in boats, one of the sacred white horses through wantonness plunged into the stream, and attempted to swim over, but the stream having carried him away and drowned him, Cyrus was much enraged with the river for this affront, and threatened to make his stream so weak, that henceforth women should easily cross it without wetting their knees. After this menace, deferring his expedition against Babylon, he divided his army into two parts ; and having so divided it, he marked out by lines one hundred and eighty channels, on each side of the river, diverging every way ; then having distributed his army, he commanded them to dig. His design was indeed executed by the great numbers he employed ; but they spent the whole summer in the work. 190. When Cyrus had avenged himself on the river Gyndes, by distributing it into three hundred and sixty channels, and the second spring began to shine, he then advanced against Babylon. But the Babylonians, having taken the field, awaited his coming ; and when he had advanced near the city, the Babylonians gave battle, and, being defeated, were shut up in the city. But as they had been long aware of the restless spirit of Cyrus, and saw that he attacked all nations alike, they had laid up provisions for many years ; and therefore were under no apprehensions about a siege. On the other hand, Cyrus found himself in difficulty, since much time had elapsed, and his affairs were not at all advanced. 191. Whether therefore some one else made the suggestion to him in his perplexity, or whether he himself devised the plan, he had recourse to the following stratagem. Having stationed the bulk of his army near the passage of the river where it enters Babylon, and again having stationed another division beyond the city, where the river makes its exit, he gave orders to his forces to enter the city as soon as they should see the stream fordable. Having thus stationed his forces, and given these directions, he himself marched away with the ineffective part of his army ; and having come to the lake, Cyrus did the same with respect to the river and the lake as the queen of the Babylonians had done. For having diverted the river, by means of a canal.

into the lake, which was before a swamp, he made the ancient channel fordable by the sinking of the river. When this took place, the Persians who were appointed to that purpose close to the stream of the river, which had now subsided to about the middle of a man's thigh, entered Babylon by this passage. If, however, the Babylonians had been aware of it beforehand, or had known what Cyrus was about, they would not have suffered the Persians to enter the city, but would have utterly destroyed them; for having shut all the little gates that lead down to the river, and mounting the walls that extend along the banks of the river, they would have caught them as in a net; whereas the Persians came upon them by surprise. It is related by the people who inhabited this city, that by reason of its great extent, when they who were at the extremities were taken, those of the Babylonians who inhabited the centre knew nothing of the capture; (for it happened to be a festival;) but they were dancing at the time, and enjoying themselves, till they received certain information of the truth: and thus Babylon was taken for the first time.⁷

192. How great was the power of the Babylonians, I can prove by many other circumstances, and especially by the following. The whole territory over which the great king reigns, is divided into districts for the purpose of furnishing subsistence for him and his army, in addition to the usual tribute; now, whereas there are twelve months in the year, the Babylonian territory provides him with subsistence for four months, and all the rest of Asia for the remaining eight: thus the territory of Assyria amounts to a third part of the power of all Asia, and the government of this region, which the Persians call a satrapy, is considerable; since it yielded a full artabe of silver every day to Tritæchmes son of Artabazus, who held this district from the king: the artabe is a Persian measure, containing three Attic chœnices more than the Attic medimnus. And he had a private stud of horses, in addition to those used in war, of eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares; for each stallion served twenty mares. He kept too such a number of Indian dogs, that four considerable towns in the plain were exempted from all other taxes, and appointed to find food for the dogs. Such were the advantages accruing

⁷ It was again taken by Darius. See Book III. chap. 159.

to the governor of Babylon. 193. The land of Assyria is but little watered by rain, and that little nourishes the root of the corn; however, the stalk grows up, and the grain comes to maturity, by being irrigated from the river, not, as in Egypt, by the river overflowing the fields, but it is irrigated by the hand and by engines. For the Babylonian territory, like Egypt, is intersected by canals; and the largest of these is navigable, stretching in the direction of the winter sunrise;⁸ and it extends from the Euphrates to another river, the river Tigris, on which the city of Nineveh stood. This is, of all lands with which we are acquainted, by far the best for the growth of corn: but it does not carry any show of producing trees of any kind, neither the fig, nor the vine, nor the olive; yet it is so fruitful in the produce of corn, that it yields continually two hundred-fold, and when it produces its best, it yields even three hundred-fold. The blades of wheat and barley grow there to full four fingers in breadth; and though I well know to what a height millet and sesama grow, I shall not mention it; for I am well assured, that to those who have never been in the Babylonian country, what has been said concerning its productions will appear to many incredible. They use no other oil than such as is drawn from sesama. They have palm trees growing all over the plain; most of these bear fruit from which they make bread, wine, and honey. These they cultivate as fig trees, both in other respects, and they also tie the fruit of that which the Grecians call the male palm, about those trees that bear dates, in order that the fly entering the date may ripen it, lest otherwise the fruit fall before maturity; for the males have flies in the fruit, just like wild fig trees.

194. The most wonderful thing of all here, next to the city itself, is what I now proceed to describe: their vessels that sail down the river to Babylon are circular, and made of leather. For when they have cut the ribs out of willows that grow in Armenia above Babylon, they cover them with hides extended on the outside, by way of a bottom; neither making any distinction in the stern, nor contracting the prow, but making them circular like a buckler; then having lined this vessel throughout with reeds, they suffer it to be carried down by the river freighted with merchandise, but they chiefly

⁸ That is, south-east.

take down casks of palm wine. The vessel is steered by two spars, and two men standing upright, one of whom draws his spar in and the other thrusts his out. Some of these vessels are made very large, and others of a smaller size; but the largest of them carry a cargo of five thousand talents. Every vessel has a live ass on board, and the larger ones more. For after they arrive at Babylon, and have disposed of their freight, they sell the ribs of the boat and all the reeds by public auction; then having piled the skins on the asses, they return by land to Armenia, for it is not possible by any means to sail up the river by reason of the rapidity of the current: and for this reason they make their vessels of skins and not of wood, and at their return to Armenia with their asses, they construct other vessels in the same manner. Such, then, is the description of their boats. 195. For their dress, they wear a linen tunic that reaches down to the feet, over this they put another garment of wool, and over all a short white cloak; they have sandals peculiar to the country, very like the Bœotian clogs. They wear long hair, binding their heads with turbans, and anoint the whole body with perfumes. Every man has a seal, and a staff curiously wrought; and on every staff is carved either an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle, or something of the kind; for it is not allowable to wear a stick without a device. Such, then, is their manner of adorning the body.

196. The following customs prevail amongst them. This, in my opinion, is the wisest, which I hear the Venetians, of Illyria, also practise. Once in every year the following course is pursued in every village. Whatever maidens were of a marriageable age, they used to collect together and bring in a body to one place; around them stood a crowd of men. Then a crier having made them stand up one by one, offered them for sale, beginning with the most beautiful; and when she had been sold for a large sum, he put up another who was next in beauty. They were sold on condition that they should be married. Such men among the Babylonians as were rich and desirous of marrying, used to bid against one another, and purchase the handsomest. But such of the lower classes as were desirous of marrying, did not require a beautiful form, but were willing to take the plainer damsels with a sum of money. For when the crier had finished selling the handsomest of the maidens, he made the ugliest stand up, or one

that was a cripple, and put her up to auction, for the person who would marry her with the least sum, until she was adjudged to the man who offered to take the smallest sum. This money was obtained from *the sale of* the handsome maidens; and thus the beautiful ones portioned out the ugly and the crippled. A father was not allowed to give his daughter in marriage to whom he pleased, neither might a purchaser carry off a maiden without security, but he was first obliged to give security that he would certainly marry her, and then he might take her away. If they did not agree, a law was enacted that the money should be repaid. It was also lawful for any one who pleased, to come from another village and purchase. Such was their best institution; it has not, however, continued to exist. They have lately adopted another regulation to prevent them from ill-treating the women, or carrying them away to another city; for now that, since the taking of the city, they have been harshly treated, and ruined in fortune, all the meaner sort, from want of a livelihood, prostitute their daughters. 197. They have also this other custom, second to the former in wisdom. They bring out their sick to the market-place, for they have no physicians; then those who pass by the sick person, confer with him about the disease, *to discover* whether they have themselves been afflicted with the same disease as the sick person, or have seen others so afflicted: thus the passers-by confer with him, and advise him to have recourse to the same treatment as that by which they escaped a similar disease, or as they have known cure others. And they are not allowed to pass by a sick person in silence, without inquiring into the nature of his distemper. 198. They embalm the dead in honey, and their funeral lamentations are like those of the Egyptians. As often as a Babylonian has had intercourse with his wife, he sits over burning incense, and his wife does the same in some other place; at break of day both wash, for they will not touch any vessel till they have washed. The same practice is observed by the Arabians.

199. The most disgraceful of the Babylonian customs is the following: every native woman is obliged, once in her life, to sit in the temple of Venus, and have intercourse with some stranger. And many disdaining to mix with the rest, being proud on account of their wealth, come in covered carriages, and take up their station at the temple with a numerous train

of servants attending them. But the far greater part do thus : many sit down in the temple of Venus, wearing a crown of cord round their heads ; some are continually coming in, and others are going out. Passages marked out in a straight line lead in every direction through the women, along which strangers pass and make their choice. When a woman has once seated herself, she must not return home till some stranger has thrown a piece of silver into her lap, and lain with her outside the temple. He who throws the silver must say thus : "I beseech the goddess Mylitta to favour thee:" for the Assyrians call Venus Mylitta. The silver may be ever so small, for she will not reject it, inasmuch as it is not lawful for her to do so, for such silver is accounted sacred. The woman follows the first man that throws, and refuses no one. But when she has had intercourse and has absolved herself from her obligation to the goddess, she returns home ; and after that time, however great a sum you may give her you will not gain possession of her. Those that are endowed with beauty and symmetry of shape are soon set free ; but the deformed are detained a long time, from inability to satisfy the law, for some wait for a space of three or four years. In some parts of Cyprus there is a custom very similar. 200. These customs, then, prevail amongst the Babylonians. There are three tribes among them that eat nothing but fish ; these, when they have taken and dried them in the sun, they treat in the following manner : they put them into a mortar, and having pounded them with a pestle, sift them through a fine cloth ; then, whoever pleases, kneads them into a cake, or bakes them like bread.

201. When Cyrus had conquered this nation, he was anxious to reduce the Massagetæ to subjection. Now, this nation is said to be both powerful and valiant, dwelling towards the east and the rising sun beyond the river Araxes, over against the Issedonians ; there are some who say that this nation is Scythian. 202. The Araxes is reported by some persons to be greater, by others less, than the Ister ; they say that there are many islands in it, some nearly equal in size to Lesbos ; and that in them are men, who during the summer feed upon all manner of roots, which they dig out of the ground ; and that they store up for food ripe fruits which they find on the trees, and feed upon these during the winter. *They add,*

that they have discovered other trees that produce fruit of a peculiar kind, which the inhabitants, when they meet together in companies, and have lit a fire, throw on the fire, as they sit round in a circle ; and that by inhaling the fumes of the burning fruit that has been thrown on, they become intoxicated by the odour, just as the Greeks do by wine ; and that the more fruit is thrown on, the more intoxicated they become, until they rise up to dance and betake themselves to singing. In this manner these islanders are reported to live. The river Araxes flows from the Matienian mountains, whence also springs the river Gyndes, which Cyrus distributed into the three hundred and sixty trenches ; and it gushes out from forty springs, all of which, except one, discharge themselves into fens and swamps, in which it is said men live who feed on raw fish, and clothe themselves in the skins of sea-calves ; but the one stream of the Araxes flows through an unobstructed channel into the Caspian Sea. The Caspian is a sea by itself, having no communication with any other sea ; for the whole of that which the Grecians navigate, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, and the Red Sea, are all one. 203. But the Caspian is a separate sea of itself ; being in length a fifteen days' voyage for a rowing boat ; and in breadth, where it is widest, an eight days' voyage. On the western shore of this sea stretches the Caucasus, which is in extent the largest, and in height the loftiest of all mountains ; it contains within itself many and various nations of men, who for the most part live upon the produce of wild fruit trees. In this country, it is said, there are trees which produce leaves of such a nature, that by rubbing them and mixing them with water the people paint figures on their garments ; these figures they say do not wash out, but grow old with the wool, as if they had been woven in from the first. It is said that sexual intercourse among these people takes place openly, as with cattle. 204. The Caucasus, then, bounds the western side of this sea, which is called the Caspian ; and on the east, towards the rising sun, succeeds a plain in extent unbounded in the prospect. A great portion of this extensive plain is inhabited by the Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus resolved to make war ; for the motives that urged and incited him to this enterprise were many and powerful ; first of all his birth, which he thought was something more than

human ; and secondly, the good fortune which had attended him in his wars ; for wherever Cyrus directed his arms, it was impossible for that nation to escape.

205. A woman whose husband was dead, was queen of the Massagetæ ; her name was Tomyris ; and Cyrus sent ambassadors under pretence of wooing her, and made her an offer of marriage. But Tomyris, being aware that he was not wooing her, but the kingdom of the Massagetæ, forbade their approach. Upon this Cyrus, perceiving his artifice ineffectual, marched to the Araxes, and openly prepared to make war on the Massagetæ, by throwing bridges over the river, and building turrets on the boats which carried over his army. 206. While he was employed in this work, Tomyris sent a herald to him with this message : “ King of the Medes, desist from your great exertions ; for you cannot know if they will terminate to your advantage ; and having desisted, reign over your own dominions, and bear to see me governing what is mine. But if you will not attend to my advice, and prefer every thing before peace ; *in a word*, if you are very anxious to make trial of the Massagetæ, toil no longer in throwing a bridge over the river ; but do you cross over to our side, while we retire three days’ march from the river ; or if you had rather receive us on your side, do you the like.” When Cyrus heard this proposal, he called a council of the principal Persians ; and having assembled them, he laid the matter before them, and demanded their opinion as to what he should do : they unanimously advised him to let Tomyris pass with her army into his territory. 207. But Cræsus the Lydian, who was present and disapproved this advice, delivered a contrary opinion to that which was put forward, and said : “ O king, I assured you long ago, that since Jupiter delivered me into your hands, I would to the utmost of my power avert whatever misfortune I should see impending over your house ; and my own calamities,⁹ sad as they are, have been lessons to me. If you think yourself immortal, and that you command an army that is so too, it were needless for me to make known to you my opinion. But if you know that you too are a man, and that you command such as are men, learn this first of all, that there is a wheel in human affairs, which, continually revolv-

⁹ This appears to have been a proverb παθήματα μαθήματα

ing, does not suffer the same persons to be always successful. Now, therefore, I hold an opinion touching the matter before us, wholly at variance with that already given. For if we shall receive the enemy into this country, there is this danger in so doing, if you are defeated, you will lose, besides, your whole empire; for it is plain that if the Massagetæ are victorious, they will not flee home again, but will march upon your territories: and if you are victorious, your victory is not so complete, as if, having crossed over into their territory, you should conquer the Massagetæ, and pursue them in their flight; for I will carry the comparison throughout, *it is plain*, that if you are victorious over your adversaries you will march directly into the dominions of Tomyris. In addition to what has been now stated, it were a disgrace and intolerable, that Cyrus the son of Cambyses should give way and retreat before a woman. My opinion therefore is, that you should pass over and advance as far as they retire; and then by the following stratagem endeavour to get the better of them. As I hear, the Massagetæ are unacquainted with the Persian luxuries, and are unused to the comforts of life. *My opinion then is*, that having cut up and dressed abundance of cattle, you should lay out a feast in our camp for these men; and besides, bowls of unmixed wine without stint, and all other provisions; and that having done this, and having left the weakest part of your army behind, the rest should return again towards the river; for the Massagetæ, if I mistake not, when they see so much excellent fare, will turn to immediately, and after that there remains for us the display of mighty achievements."

208. Now these two contrary opinions were given. Cyrus, rejecting the former, and approving that of Cræsus, bade Tomyris retire, for that he would cross over to her. She accordingly retired, as she had promised at first. But Cyrus having placed Cræsus in the hands of his son Cambyses, to whom he also intrusted the kingdom, and having strictly charged him to honour Cræsus, and treat him well, in case his inroad on the Massagetæ should fail; having given these injunctions, and sent them back to Persia, he himself crossed the river with his army. 209. When he had passed the Araxes, and night came on, he saw the following vision, as he was sleeping in the country of the Massagetæ. Cyrus fancied in his sleep that he saw the eldest son of Hystaspes

with wings on his shoulders ; and that with one of these he overshadowed Asia, and with the other Europe. Now Darius, who was then about twenty years of age, was the eldest son of Hystaspes son of Arsames, one of the Achæmenides ; and he had been left in Persia, for he had not yet attained the age of military service. When therefore Cyrus awoke, he considered his dream with attention ; and as it seemed to him of great moment, he summoned Hystaspes, and taking him aside, said, "Hystaspes, your son has been detected plotting against me and my empire ; and I will show you how I know it for a certainty. The gods watch over me, and forewarn me of every thing that is about to befall me. Now, in the past night, as I was sleeping, I saw the eldest of your sons with wings on his shoulders, and with one of these he overshadowed Asia, and Europe with the other ; from this vision, it cannot be otherwise than that your son is forming designs against me ; do you therefore go back to Persia with all speed, and take care, that when I have conquered these people, and return home, you bring your son before me to be examined."

210. Cyrus spoke thus under a persuasion that Darius was plotting against him ; but the deity forewarned him that he himself would die in that very expedition, and that his kingdom would devolve on Darius. Hystaspes however answered in these words : "God forbid, O king, that a Persian should be born who would plot against you ! But if any such there be, may sudden destruction overtake him, for you have made the Persians free instead of being slaves, and instead of being ruled over by others, to rule over all : but if any vision informs you that my son is forming any plot against you, I freely surrender him to you to deal with as you please." Hystaspes, having given this answer, repassed the Araxes and went to Persia, for the purpose of keeping his son Darius in custody for Cyrus.

211. Cyrus having advanced one day's march from the Araxes, proceeded to act according to the suggestion of Cræsus. After this, when Cyrus and the effective part of the Persian army had marched back to the Araxes, leaving the ineffective part behind ; a third division of the army of the Massagetæ attacked those of Cyrus's forces that had been left behind, and after some resistance, put them to death. Then, seeing the feast laid out, as soon as they had overcome their enemies they

lay down and feasted ; and being filled with food and wine, fell asleep. But the Persians having attacked them, put many of them to death, and took a still greater number prisoners, and among them the son of Queen Tomyris, who commanded the Massagetæ, and whose name was Spargapises. 212. She, when she heard what had befallen her army and her son, sent a herald to Cyrus with the following message : “Cyrus, insatiate with blood, be not elated with what has now happened, that by the fruit of the vine, with which ye yourselves, when filled with it, so rave, that when it descends into your bodies, evil words float on your lips, *be not elated*, that by such a poison you have deceived and conquered my son, instead of by prowess in battle. Now, however, take the good advice that I offer you. Restore my son ; depart out of this country unpunished for having insolently disgraced a third division of the army of the Massagetæ. But if you will not do this, I swear by the sun, the Lord of the Massagetæ, that, insatiable as you are, I will glut you with blood.” 213. Cyrus, however, paid no attention to this message ; but Spargapises, the son of Queen Tomyris, as soon as he recovered from the effects of the wine, and perceived in what a plight he was, begged of Cyrus that he might be freed from his fetters ; but as soon as he was set free, and found his hands at liberty, he put himself to death. Such was the end he met with. 214. But Tomyris, finding Cyrus did not listen to her, assembled all her forces, and engaged with him. I think that this battle was the most obstinate that was ever fought between barbarians. And I am informed that it took place in the following manner : it is related, that, first of all, they stood at a distance and used their bows, and that afterwards, when they had emptied their quivers, they engaged in close fight with their swords and spears, and that thus they continued fighting for a long time, and neither were willing to give way ; but at length the Massagetæ got the better, and the greater part of the Persian army was cut in pieces on the spot, and Cyrus himself killed, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. But Tomyris, having filled a skin with human blood, sought for the body of Cyrus among the slain of the Persians, and having found it, thrust the head into the skin, and insulting the dead body, said : “Thou hast indeed ruined me, though alive and victorious in

battle, since thou hast taken my son by stratagem ; but I will now glut thee with blood, as I threatened." Of the many accounts given of the end of Cyrus, this appears to me most worthy of credit.

215. The Massagetæ resemble the Scythians in their dress and mode of living ; they have both horse and foot ; for they have some of each ; and bow-men, and javelin-men, who are accustomed to carry battle-axes : they use gold and brass for every thing ; for in whatever concerns spears, and arrow-points, and battle-axes, they use brass ; but for the head, and belts, and shoulder-pieces, they are ornamented with gold. In like manner with regard to the chests of horses, they put on breastplates of brass ; but the bridle-bit and cheek-pieces are ornamented with gold. They make no use of silver or iron, for neither of those metals are found in their country, but they have brass and gold in abundance. 216. Their manners are as follows : each man marries a wife, but they use the women promiscuously ; for what the Grecians say the Scythians do, is a mistake, for they do it not, but the Massagetæ ; for when a Massagetan desires to have the company of a woman he hangs up his quiver in front of her chariot, and has intercourse with her without shame. No particular term of life is prescribed to them ; but when a man has attained a great age, all his kinsmen meet, and sacrifice him, together with cattle of several kinds ; and when they have boiled the flesh, they feast on it. This death they account the most happy ; but they do not eat the bodies of those who die of disease ; but bury them in the earth, and think it a great misfortune that they did not reach the age to be sacrificed. They sow nothing, but live on cattle and fish, which the river Araxes yields in abundance, and they are drinkers of milk. They worship the sun only of all the gods, and sacrifice horses to him ; and this is the reason of this custom ; they think it right to offer the swiftest of all animals to the swiftest of all the gods.